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THE JOURNAL
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THE JOURNAL

OF

CLASSICAL AND SACRED PHILOLOGY.

I.

The "Birds" of Aristophanes.

SÜVERN'S ~~Essay on the~~ *"Birds"* of Aristophanes was first published in the ~~Transactions~~ *Transactions* of the Royal Academy of Sciences. Translation by W. R.

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mended to students about to read the "Birds,"
master-key to the poet's meaning. Those who recommend it
share, I presume, in the Translator's "earnest conviction that
Professor Süvern has fully and completely succeeded in proving
the proposition he has advanced:" it cannot therefore be out
of place to confess, on the other hand, an earnest conviction that
the said proposition is utterly untenable. I shall endeavour to
prove this assertion so far as my limits will allow. They will
not allow me to combat Prof. Süvern step by step,—a process
alike wearisome and unnecessary, for, if the basis of the theory
be proved unsound, all the indices and lexicons in the world will
not suffice to establish it. I do not undervalue his research, I
acknowledge the plausibility of his conjectures as to the meaning
of some isolated passages; I deny his general proposition, viz.
that the "Birds," over and above its obvious plot and purpose,

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1

contains a subtle, recondite allegory, which the poet maintains from the beginning to the end, and works into the minutest details.

I will first state as fairly as I can the main points of this theory, and then endeavour to shew that it is inconsistent with the whole tenor of the play and the facts of history, that it is unsupported by evidence, contrary to analogy, and alien to the nature of Ancient Comedy.

I beg, however, to premise that when I arraign this statement as untrue, or that argument as unfair, I do not impute any intention to mislead: I merely assert that the parent of the theory by his passionate affection for his offspring is blinded to its faults.

Süvern's main points are briefly these (given as far as possible in his own words): Over and above the avowed and patent purpose of "exhibiting to the public eye a view of the extreme corruption, perversity, and vanity of the Athenian life and manners in general, particularly the licentiousness of the demagogues, &c.," Aristophanes had a special and less obvious design of exposing the Sicilian expedition "as essentially a chimerical phantom, which none but a vain ambitious population, of inflammable, giddy and volatile men, could have been induced to pursue; and besides several serious admonitions which are scattered about here and there, he clearly shews the selfish views in which it was conceived, and in the accomplishment of which it is likely to end" (p. 26); that is to say, that Alcibiades had conceived the expedition with a view to make himself Despot of Athens, and through Athens, of Greece.

The Birds represent the Athenian people; the Gods, the Spartans as their principal allies; the men, the smaller dependent Greek states, collectively; Peisthetærus combines the chief characteristics of Alcibiades and Gorgias, Euelpides represents the credulous populace of Athens in conjunction with Polus of Agrigentum, and the Epops is meant for Lamachus.

"In pursuance of the poet's ironical fiction, the strangers who have wandered so far from Athens that they can no longer find their way back to their country, are really only conducted into the Pnyx; thus the action is carried on in the very seat and centre of the life of the Athenian people." (p. 31.)

It was impossible that the author of this theory could over-

look the numerous passages which directly contravene it. Indeed he himself collects and puts forward at the very outset of his work a number of passages in which "the birds and men are blended together in their signification" (p. 10), and others, again, in which the Gods are confounded with both. "Indeed," (he says), "to complete the confusion, the birds themselves, in whom the fundamental characteristics of the Athenian manners and constitution are satirized, have also such excellent and praiseworthy qualities, that in many of these they are evidently brought forward as models for the Athenians, &c." (p. 11.)

To an ordinary mind the simplest way of solving the difficulties would have been the abandonment of the theory. When the work of a great artist presents to you only "intricate confusion," the natural inference is, that you have chosen a false point of view. But your learned German is not so easily moved from his *standpunkt*. Hear how Prof. Süvern disposes of these manifest objections :

"No wonder then that this intricate confusion has thrown a veil over the fundamental idea of the poem, and has led to the opinion, that the author had merely in view a general satire on mankind, on the notions and relations of man, though with a special reference to the Athenian people. We shall not however be led astray by it, if we reflect on the one hand, that such confusion is quite appropriate and congenial to the roguish humour of comic poetry, which conceals its aim in the play of a perpetually shifting irony, and thereby makes a stronger impression upon those who see through it; and on the other, that we can easily distinguish what belongs to each of the three divisions, as a party implicated in the undertaking, from that which is extraneous to it; as for example in reference to the men, what belongs to them as one of those parties, and what to them as men; and in reference to the birds, what properly belongs to them as parties in the action, what in virtue of the masks given to them, and what as they compose the chorus. We must also take with us, that the confusion which we observe would naturally proceed from the object of the comedy; it being necessary, at the period at which 'The Birds' was brought out, that this object should be to a certain degree concealed. Whilst at the same time, with respect to the several parties engaged in the action, without impairing their fundamental diversity, it admitted

of assimilating them in the course of working out the parts, and thus of satirizing the one by means of the others."

In the first place, we detect a glaring inconsistency in the Professor's main proposition. According to him Aristophanes considered the Sicilian expedition to be "an essentially chimerical phantom," and yet expected it to be crowned with such signal success as to make its originator Supreme Lord of the subjugated Grecian world. If the scheme was likely to succeed, how could it be "essentially chimerical?"

Waiving the inconsistency, I think I can shew that both parts of the proposition are unworthy of our assent; the first being incapable of proof, and the second demonstrably false.

I say then, first, that we have no ground whatever for supposing that Aristophanes did not share fully in the sanguine hopes of the vast majority of his countrymen. The whole play contains no word of warning; not a hint of impending misfortunes troubles its exuberant gaiety. For, in truth, no human foresight could have anticipated the disasters which befel the armament; disasters for which Greek history afforded no precedent. The most timid might have supposed that the cautious Nicias would at all events secure a safe retreat for his forces. I have no doubt that the expedition and the extravagant hopes of further conquest which Thucydides tells us were entertained by his countrymen, suggested to the comic poet the wild plot of the "Birds," as a piece of innocent satire which quizzed but did not censure, which jumped with their humour rather than blamed it. I see no reason to doubt that he with all Athens (except perhaps Socrates and Meton, if any reliance can be placed on Plutarch's gossip,) anticipated the fall of Syracuse, and only grumbled at the tardiness of the principal commander, the *μελλο-νικίαν*, which delayed so glorious a consummation.

Secondly, it is demonstrably false that Aristophanes meant to warn his countrymen that the result of the expedition would be, to invest Alcibiades with the *βασιλεία*.

Süvern quietly tells us, near the end of his "Essay" (p. 141), "When the 'Birds' came out it was not known what had been the result of dispatching the Salaminia for Alcibiades, how he had himself received the summons, or how it had been taken by the crew of the fleet, &c." Now on this point depends the whole question, and yet Süvern, so prodigal elsewhere of needless illus-

tration, has not advanced an atom of proof in support of this all-important assumption. I say, all-important, because if it can be disproved, all the theory, so far as Alcibiades is concerned, falls to the ground. That the Salaminia had already been sent, is obvious from lines 145 sqq.:

οἱ μοι μηδαμῶς
ἡμῖν γε παρὰ θάλατταν ἔν' ἀνακύνφεται
κλητήρ' ὄγους' ἔωθεν ἡ Σαλαμινία.

Now I do not dwell on the manifest improbability that this long play had been written and studied by the actors and performed in the interval between the sending of the Salaminia and its return—a month, I suppose, at most; I think it can be shewn that the Salaminia had not only been sent, but come back, and Alcibiades in all probability condemned to death, ἐρήμη δίκη, before the production of the play.

The first *ὑπόθεσις* prefixed to the play tells us *ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ χαβρίου ἐν ἄσται*; the second says the same, *καθῆκεν εἰς ἄστυ*, with the additional information that he produced the *Ἀμφιάραος* at the Lenæan festival of the same year. There is no ground for questioning that this statement is derived from the *διδασκαλίας*: it has never been questioned by any one. The Birds then was first performed at the city Dionysia in the year 414 B.C. The city Dionysia were celebrated at the very close of winter. This is proved (if proof were necessary) by a multitude of passages, among others, by Thucyd. v. 20: *Λέγεται αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἅμα ἡρι ἐκ Διονυσίων εὐθὺς τῶν ἀστικῶν*, κ. τ. λ. Thucydides, as we know, divides the year into two seasons only, the summer and the winter, assigning to the latter about five months, ending with the vernal equinox, or thereabouts. Its length might vary by a few days or even weeks, according as the weather was more or less favourable for the continuance or resumption of military operations on a great scale. The winter in question must have been of the average length at least, to allow time for the incidents related by Thucydides from ch. 63 to 93 of B. vi. (inclusive). There is the expedition to Syracuse, and the battle under its walls, the return to Naxos and Catana, the attempt upon Messene, where the Athenians remained thirteen days, and then returned to Naxos. After this a trireme is dispatched to Athens requesting that money and horses may be sent by the beginning of spring. The vote is passed; the money and horses are

collected and arrive in Sicily immediately after the resumption of active hostilities, ἅμα τῷ ἡρὶ εὐθὺς ἀρχομένῳ. The winter therefore cannot well have commenced later than the beginning of November.

Again, the summer was not ended when Alcibiades was sent for home. Thucydides, after recounting summarily the flight of Alcibiades and his subsequent condemnation as events which succeeded each other at no long interval, proceeds in the 62d chapter to relate the operations of the two remaining generals, (μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ.), the division of the forces into two parts, the expedition to Egesta, the fruitless attempt upon Himera, and capture of Hykkara, the return to Catana, the sale of the captives, the failure before Hybla, &c. for which we must at least allow four or five weeks. And then the summer ended—καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

From this I conclude that the Salaminia arrived at Catana with the summons for Alcibiades not later than the beginning of October. The intelligence of his flight would be reported at Athens by that swift-sailing trireme perhaps before the end of the month. His speech at Sparta was probably delivered before the end of January, (vid. Thuc. vi. 88 sqq.)

So far, then, from Aristophanes having any occasion in the middle of March to warn his countrymen against the growing power of Alcibiades at Athens, he had been for five months an exile, had been condemned to death for what appeared to the people in their then temper the most revolting of crimes, and was known to be most zealous in the service of the enemy.

That there should be no further reference throughout the play to an event which must have profoundly affected the Athenian mind, need not surprise us.

It was a subject too dangerous for a jest, and the number of those implicated in the same accusation was too great to admit of its being a fit topic for the buffooneries of comedy in the presence of a miscellaneous audience. I think that the Poet's regard for the success of his piece, and for his own personal safety, would be quite sufficient to deter him from jesting on this subject, therefore I hesitate to accept Droysen's notion (Mus. Rhen. iv. p. 60) that the mention of it was specially prohibited by the enactment moved by Syracosius, although Meineke (ii. p. 948) gives in his adhesion. If Droysen's opinion be correct, what

becomes of Süvern's? His theory is then not only contrary to probability, and (as I have shewn) disproved by chronology, but absolutely prohibited by law. We have already convicted him of *αναχρόνισμος*, we may now file a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*.

I proceed briefly to examine some of the principal details of Süvern's allegory.

1. "The Birds represent the Athenian people."

According to my view, the Birds represent the Birds, and nothing else. There is positively no reason for supposing that the scene represented the Athenian Pnyx, except the occurrence of the word *πέρπα*! In lines 10 and 11 we are expressly told that Attica was not even visible; Euelpides says (30 sqq.) that he and his companion have left Athens in search of a quiet life. When the Herald returns to announce the reception of his message by mankind, it is its effect at Athens on which he especially dwells (1277 sqq.)

Again, the Birds (as Süvern has himself remarked) are frequently proposed as models for men in general and Athenians in particular.

These multiplied incongruities do not disturb the Professor. His is the most "headstrong allegory" on record. The said incongruities were intended, it seems, "to throw a veil over the fundamental idea of the poem." Truly the veil is so thick that I am sure not one of the ten thousand spectators could see through it.

Whether is it more probable that Aristophanes, after constructing an elaborate allegory, intentionally and deliberately violated and falsified it in a hundred instances, or that he sketched a general plot, the scene of which being in fairy-land admitted all kinds of fantastic vagaries, and then gave full play to his imagination and allowed his fun to run riot? On the latter hypothesis, the inconsistencies are natural, on the former, unaccountable.

2. "The Gods represent the Spartans and Peloponnesians, together with the principal states in alliance with them."

Because, forsooth, "the balance of power was leaning to the Spartan side," and, "the political weight and credit of the Athenians was sunken by the defeats at Oropus and Delium, and by the advances made by the Spartans on the frontiers of Thrace."

This is a monstrous perversion of historical fact. Nothing so "sophistical" can be detected in Peisthetærus even by a German Professor predetermined to find "sophistry" everywhere. The Athenians had indeed suffered serious checks and severe defeats at Oropus, Delium, Amphipolis, and elsewhere; but no one who reads the history of the Peloponnesian war, without a preconceived theory to maintain, can fail to see that their affairs were to all appearance more prosperous at the commencement of the year 414, than they were when the war began. They had destroyed the prestige of the Spartan name, had detached Argos from her alliance, and in fact felt themselves so secure at home that they conceived the idea of employing their superabundant strength in the Sicilian expedition. It is impossible not to assent to the truth of Grote's remark, that the Melian Dialogue is introduced by Thucydides to illustrate the overweening insolence of the Athenians in this the culminating period of their prosperity: to point the moral, so striking to the Greek mind, that pride goes before a fall, exactly in the same spirit as the Poet's, when he makes Agamemnon walk over purple to the House of Death.

No Athenian audience would have tolerated at any time, least of all at this time, a drama which represented themselves as gaping, light-minded, feeble birds, and their enemies as Olympian Gods. What says Alcibiades (Thucyd. vi. 17)? *Καὶ νῦν οὔτε ἀνέλπιστοι πῶ μᾶλλον Πελοποννήσιοι ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐγένοντο, κ.τ.λ.**; an assertion which, sanguine and vainglorious as he was, he would

* Mr Grote's interpretation of this passage seems to me quite untenable. "As to the Peloponnesians, powerful as they were, they were not more desperate enemies than they had been in former days:" and in a note he explains *ἀνέλπιστοι* to mean "enemies beyond our hopes of being able to deal with," referring to Thuc. vii. 4, and vii. 47. (Grote, *Hist. Gr.* Vol. vii. p. 210).

Now, in the first place, the Athenians did not consider the Peloponnesians "desperate enemies" at any time of their history till after the battle of Ægos Potami, least of all at this time.

Again, if this be the meaning of the clause, how can the following *εἴτε καὶ*

πάνυ ἐββωνται be translated at all?

The two passages referred to do not justify Mr Grote's interpretation, because the word is, in both, neuter. vii. 4, *ὁρῶν τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς σφίσιν... ἀνελπιστότερα ὄντα*. vii. 47, *τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅτι ἀνέλπιστα αὐτοῖς ἐφάλvero*. I do not know of a single instance of *ἀνέλπιστος* as applied to persons having the passive signification. The sense therefore is: "In the first place (*τε*) the Peloponnesians never were so hopeless of success against us; and, secondly, (*τε*) supposing them to be in ever such good heart, they can but invade us by land, and that we cannot prevent in any case, while we shall always leave a

scarcely have ventured to make if he had not been sure of being borne out by the general sense of the assembly.

Nicias, at all events, is a witness perfectly unexceptionable. His language is quite clear as to the fact, that the war hitherto had resulted in unlooked-for success to Athens, and had raised her hopes as much as it had depressed the prestige and credit of Sparta. (Thucyd. VI. 11): *ὅπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πεπόνθατε· διὰ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐφοβείσθε τὸ πρῶτον περιγεγενῆσθαι καταφρονήσαντες ἤδη καὶ Σικελίας ἐφίεσθε· χρὴ δὲ μὴ πρὸς τὰς τύχας τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπαίρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰς διανοίας κρατήσαντες θαρρύνειν μηδὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἄλλο τι ἡγήσασθαι ἢ διὰ τὸ αἰσχρὸν σκοπεῖν ὅτε τρῶψι ᾗτε καὶ νῦν, ἣν δύνωνται, σφήλαντες ἡμᾶς τὸ σφέτερον ἀπρεπὲς εὖ θήσονται, κ.τ.λ.*

I do not think it worth while to refute this assertion of Süvern's at greater length; it is enough to appeal to any history of the period ever written from Thucydides to Grote.

3. "The men represent the smaller Greek states, collectively."

Not a shadow of proof is adduced in support of this notion, which indeed Süvern seems only to have taken up as a *pis aller*, because it was necessary to find some prototype for *οἱ ἄνθρωποι* cursorily mentioned in the play. It is sufficiently refuted by the speech of the Herald (1277 sqq.) above referred to, in which, while professing to relate how men in general had received the commands of Peisthetærus, he relates only how the Athenians had received them. I assert positively that there is not a line in the whole play whereby a spectator could divine that the poet meant by "men," the smaller states of Greece. When he says "men," he means "men"—*voilà tout*.

4. "Peisthetærus combines the chief characteristics of Alcibiades and Gorgias."

This strange statement appears to me to be implicitly refuted (so far as concerns Alcibiades) by what I have urged respecting the interval between the mission of the Salaminia and the production of the play.

It will, however, be worth our while to examine the question more closely, in order to shew (1) that—besides the *à priori*

sufficient naval force at home to prevent their attacking us by sea." Little errors become important in a work whose au-
thority is paramount, like that of Mr Grote.

improbability that Alcibiades would be introduced under the circumstances—the play itself contains no ground for supposing that he is introduced; and (2) that the notion about Gorgias is as unsupported by internal, as it confessedly is by external, evidence. With regard, then, to Alcibiades—In the first place I cannot do better than quote the words of an author, perhaps the only one whose opinion Prof. Süvern would admit to be of equal weight with his own:

“Some commentators have, indeed, attempted to draw a comparison between Peisthetairos in this play, and Alcibiades; but this is totally without foundation; the former is no war-loving commander, but the faithful counsellor of the public, who unites the volatile, fickle people of the birds, and explains to them the power they would possess, if they would combine together in a well-fortified city, which being constructed midway between the gods and the men, would make both dependent upon them. He then directs the foundation of the city, and the ordinary affairs of the community, whilst the foreign relations, the forts, and garrisons are attended to by Epops, as commander-in-chief; he thus succeeds in securing to the birds the service of mankind, and recovers for them from the gods the sovereignty which they had lost. Here is a demagogue and commander of a very different character from that of Alcibiades; and whilst Peisthetairos, instead of exerting himself to destroy the democracy, makes minced meat of the anti-democratical birds (v. 1584), Alcibiades finished his career by the overthrow of the democratic constitution of his country.”

This passage, with which I cordially agree, occurs in *Professor Süvern's Essay on the "Clouds"* (p. 58, Eng. Tr.), and was published just one year before the production of the *Essay on the "Birds."* In the former *Essay*, his object was to prove that Pheidippides meant Alcibiades; in the latter *Essay*, that proposition is discreetly ignored: it would be too glaringly absurd to say that Pheidippides and Peisthetærus were derived from the same prototype.

But further, Alcibiades was in the prime of life, Peisthetærus is an elderly man; cf. 320, *φήμ' ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀφίχθαι δεῦρο πρεσβύτα δόο*. Alcibiades was distinguished for restless activity, and entered with hearty enjoyment into all the busy phases of Athenian life; Peisthetærus, disgusted with the same life, for-

sakes Athens to seek for *τόπον ἀπράγμονα*, 44. It is true that Peisthetærus finds anything but what he seeks in the course of the play; but if the Poet had intended any allusion to Alcibiades, he would not have thus bewildered his audience at the outset. Again, the alarm as to the Salaminia above quoted is expressed not by Peisthetærus but Euelpides; for whom indeed we might make out quite as good a claim to the honour of being Alcibiades in disguise.

Lastly, the words *οὐ σοβοῦντος οὐδενός*, if they have a serious meaning, seem to have been added expressly to warn the audience that the two wanderers now soliciting their applause, did not belong to the band of exiles deservedly proscribed for their gross impiety.

These discrepancies, then, prove that Peisthetærus does not represent Alcibiades. Now with regard to Gorgias. In this case it cannot be expected that we should find so many points of opposition between the Dramatic Person and his supposed prototype; because of Gorgias's character we have very little information, and that little is not always traceable to any trustworthy sources. We know from Plato (*Hipp. Maj.* p. 282. b) that Gorgias was sent by the Leontini as one of the ambassadors to Athens in the year 427 B.C. That he subsequently revisited Greece is certain; that he spent some time in Athens, very probable; but that he ever made Athens his permanent abode is an assumption of Süvern's entirely unsupported by evidence. What evidence we have makes against it. Cicero, *Orator*, *LII.* 176, says, "Isocrates, quum tamen audivisset in Thessalia adolescens senem jam Gorgiam...." Now if Gorgias had been a permanent resident in Athens, he might have heard him at home without going to Thessaly. Isocrates was about twenty-two years old, *adolescens*, when this play was produced. Moreover, if Gorgias had ever possessed a house of his own at Athens, Plato would scarcely have introduced him as the guest of Callicles (*Gorg.* p. 447. d). That he ever occupied so important a place in public estimation as that a miscellaneous audience would recognize him when introduced on the stage under a false name, *οὐκ ἐξηκασμένος*, and combined with another person, is quite incredible. For his popularity at Athens, Süvern relies upon an obscure Scholiast, whose words are *ἐλθόντος δὲ Γοργίου εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπεδείξατο ἐκεῖ λόγον καὶ εὐδοκίμησε πάνυ, ὥστε ἡνίκα ἐπεδείκνυτο λόγον ὁ*

Γοργίας ἑορτὴν ἀπρακτον ἐποίουν Ἀθηναῖοι. Who does not see that this is a stupid matter-of-fact misconception of Plato's joke at the beginning of the Gorgias? Ἄλλ' ἢ, τὸ λεγόμενον, κατόπιν ἑορτῆς ἤκομεν καὶ ὑστεροῦμεν; καὶ μᾶλα γε ἀστείας ἑορτῆς. Πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ καλὰ Γοργίας ἡμῖν ὀλίγον πρότερον ἐπεδείξατο.

I may remark, by the way, that the Professor seems to have no notion that one piece of evidence differs from another in historical value. He places precisely the same reliance upon an anecdote, whether gleaned from Plutarch, or the Pseudo-Plutarch, or Philostratus, as upon a statement of Thucydides. Now I maintain that these anecdotes cannot possibly be relied on as containing even a nucleus of fact. For on what authority do they come to us? Collected and repeated by the compilers of ἱστορήματα, who abounded in the Alexandrian and Augustan times, a class of persons who had no more power or inclination to sift fact from fiction than our own Mr Joseph Miller,

"And chewed by blind old Scholiasts o'er and o'er,"

they cannot be converted into history by the endorsement of the most respectable name 600 years after date. They were assignats without assets when first issued, and it is only by fraud or folly that they are current now. The good sense of Plutarch discards those which bear falsehood on their front; he admits, without enquiry, all which are *vraisemblable*. It does not follow that we are bound to admit them as true. How seldom we can rely upon an anecdote even of our own time! They are invented for the most part, like fables, as a convenient vehicle for the transmission of a moral lesson or a good saying; sometimes great men, warriors, politicians, authors, are the interlocutors, sometimes lions, foxes, owls; and I no more believe that Pericles and Alcibiades actually said the good things assigned to them, than I accept Phædrus and Lafontaine as historians. Some of the Greek anecdotes probably come from misunderstood jests of comic dramatists; some, perhaps, may have a basis of fact, and be derived from continuous tradition; but which these are we have no means of testing*. We may use of each and all the words Athenæus (p. 506. β) applied to one: τοῦτο δ' εἶπερ οὕτως ἀληθείας ἔχει, θεὸς ἂν εἰδείη.

* How comes it that our Professor, who accepts every anecdote for fact, and finds some allusion thereto in the play, overlooked the eminently Aristophanic

and appropriate story of Gorgias and the swallow told in the Rhetoric of Aristotle (III. 3)?

We may observe that in these anecdotes literary men assume an importance which they by no means held in the estimation of their contemporaries. Literature magnifies its office unduly.

That Gorgias was ever a prominent personage in the eyes of the Athenian people, we have no proof. The *ἐπιτάφιος λόγος* of which we read, was probably a rhetorical exercise never spoken at any real funeral. At Athens such an office was, so far as we know, never assigned to any but an illustrious citizen. Still less is there any ground for the supposition that it was spoken over the Athenians who fell at Orneæ, 415 B.C.* It is not even proved that any Athenians fell at all (cf. Thuc. vi. 7).

Gorgias is only twice mentioned in Aristophanes, both times in conjunction with one Philippus, of whom nothing more is known, once cursorily in the "Wasps" (421), and again in this play, to which I shall refer presently. He was, at all events, a foreigner, and Peisthetærus and his companion expressly claim to be true Athenians, bred and born (33, 34):

ἡμεῖς δὲ φυλῇ καὶ γένει τιμώμενοι
ἄστοι μετ' ἀστῶν οὐ σαβοῦντος οὐδενός
ἀνεπτόμεσθ' ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἀμφοῖν ποδοῖν.

Again, in 1700 sqq., the chorus denounces in a parenthetic song, the teachers of rhetoric, who fill their belly with their tongue; *βάρβαροι δ' εἰσὶν γένος Γοργίου τε καὶ Φιλίππου*, and immediately after, greets the triumphant Peisthetærus with an enthusiastic epithalamium. What more convincing proof could we have of the fact that Peisthetærus and Gorgias are not at all connected in the idea of the poet, or meant to be connected in that of the spectators?

The whole question may be thus briefly summed up: Peisthetærus is an Athenian, therefore he is not Gorgias; Peisthetærus is an elderly man, therefore he is not Alcibiades; therefore he is neither one nor the other. "Therefore," says Süvern, "he is *both*:" a conclusion which common logic and common sense utterly repudiate.

But Prof. Süvern will tell us, that Gorgias and Alcibiades had the sophistical element in common, which is reproduced in Peisthetærus.

* The vagueness of Philostratus's words (Vit. Soph. i. 9) *εἰρηται μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πεσοῦσιν* seems to shew that no particular battle was mentioned in the oration.

That Alcibiades can be called a Sophist in any proper sense of the word, I utterly deny. His speeches, as reported in Thucydides, are not a whit more sophistical than those of Pericles or Nicias. They represent the headstrong, impetuous, bold, and unscrupulous man he was. His contemporaries, whom he loved to dazzle and amaze by his bravery, magnificence and recklessness, would have been astonished to hear him coupled with Gorgias as a Sophist. Aristophanes would have been as much astonished as any.

Again, I deny that Peisthetærus has any claim to be called Sophist. The words "sophist," "sophistical," occur hundreds of times in the Essay, applied to so many persons and things, that it is difficult to get a notion of the sense in which they are used. We may be permitted to suppose that, having no very definite sense, they are found very convenient to mask a halting argument, or hazy conception. If Peisthetærus is a Sophist, because he is never at a loss for words, and uses any argument good or bad, in jest or earnest, to refute or overpersuade his opponents, then are Dicæopolis, and Trygæus, and Bdelycleon, and Lysistrate, also Sophists; even Mercutio, and Prince Hal, and Benedick and Beatrice, will hardly escape the like imputation. "But," says the Professor, "Peisthetærus and Euelpides are announced to the birds in three passages as Sophists." We turn to these three passages. In l. 318, they are called λεπτῶ λογιστὰ; in 409, ξένω σοφῆς ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος; in 429, one is πυκνότατον κίναδος, σόφισμα, κύρμα, τρίμμα, παμπάλημ' ὄλον. We are less surprised to find that one who can translate all these words into "sophists," translates ὀρνιθοθήρα, "sophists," too. (62).

I would ask, does Peisthetærus act like a Sophist when he beats Meton, himself a σοφιστῆς in the language of the Athenian people, (1019), and those two humbugs, the Government Surveyor and the Act-of-Parliament Vendor, (1045 sqq.), when he gives such salutary counsel to the would-be parricide (1362—1369), and when he administers such deserved chastisement to the Sycophant (1465)? In truth, he differs very little in language or spirit from Dicæopolis or Chremylus, or Trygæus—he belongs to the ordinary type of heroes of comedy. The sympathies of author and audience go with him from the beginning to the end. He is an Athenian citizen "of the right sort," endowed with qualities much admired in ancient Athens, viz. cleverness,

cunning, and spirit, and rewarded by what all sympathize with, success.

5. "Euelpides is at once a representation of the giddy, sanguine youth of Athens, and of Polus of Agrigentum."

It is, I apprehend, quite a novel idea, to represent sanguine youth in the form of a timorous old man, so novel indeed, that the audience must have been left completely in the dark. There is not one trait ascribed to Euelpides which confirms this assertion.

Of Polus we know absolutely nothing, except that he is introduced with great comic effect in the Gorgias. Whether he were ever at Athens at all, and whether the Athenians of 414 B.C. had ever heard his name, we cannot say. Certainly, he was not *ἀστὺς μετ' ἀστῶν*; and indeed all the reasons which forbid us to suppose that Gorgias was meant by Peisthetærus, tell *à fortiori* against the notion that Polus was meant by Euelpides. If there were the least ground for the former hypothesis, Philippus would be a much more probable conjecture for the famulus of Gorgias, than Polus.

6. "The Epops represents Lamachus."

Süvern's reasons for this proposition resolve themselves into three:

1st, Lamachus has a large crest in the "Acharnians," and the Epops has a large crest in the "Birds."

2nd, Lamachus was poor, the Epops is moulting (103).

3rd, Lamachus could scarcely have been omitted in a play of which the Sicilian expedition was the object.

Argument the first may well be left to fall by its own weight. No. 2 would have been more apposite if Lamachus had once been rich. The simile is applied below, with great propriety, to Callias. But for ought we know, Lamachus never had any feathers in this sense, and therefore could not lose them*. That he was poor is a well-established historical fact; but Plutarch's amplification, that when appointed general he had to charge the public a small sum *εἰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ κρηπίδας ἑαυτοῦ*, is probably a joke of some comic poet mistaken for a fact.

* The well-known passage in the Acharnians (614 sqq.), if taken as the expression of a literal fact, only proves that Lamachus had got into debt in, or

before, the year 425. No reason why he should be represented as "moulting" eleven years afterwards.

As for argument 3, surely if Nicias is not represented, Lamachus may be left out too. It is mere trifling to say that "Nicias is not passed over, though mixed up with it in a very different manner," (p. 47). Nicias is once mentioned by name, 363:

ὑπερακοντίζεις σὺ γ' ἤδη Νικίαν ταῖς μηχαναῖς,

and once alluded to in the word *μελλονικιῶν* (639).

What sort of proportion or harmony would thus be preserved between the allegory and the fact? Lamachus, the poorest and least influential of the generals, represented as King of the Athenians! and Nicias, virtually if not nominally, commander-in-chief, then, in general estimation, the foremost soldier and citizen of the Republic, not only not represented, but scarcely mentioned!

7. "The scenery pointed to Athens itself as the theatre of action, and represented in fact the Pnyx."

The only ground for this opinion is (as I have said), that we have a *πέτρα* represented on the stage in this play (54), while in the "Knights" and elsewhere, we have *πέτρα* and *πέτραι* used for the tribune and seats in the Pnyx. But it must be observed, that the rock in the present case forms a kind of background, (as Süvern himself admits), and the action takes place at the foot, not on the top of it, so that all resemblance fails. The birds assemble *below*, the Athenian *ἐκκλησία* met *υπο* "the rocks."

But, says Süvern, Athens is pointed out as the scene of the action by line 301, where Euelpides says, *τί φής; τίς γλαῦκ' Ἀθήνας ἦγαγε*; and by 1455, where the Sycophant uses *ἐνθαδὶ* as if he were at home. It is not clear to me that *ἐνθαδὶ* in the latter passage does mean "hither to Athens;" the Sycophant might hope to ply his old trade in the new city of Nephelococcygia. In any case, this and the other passage would be merely varieties of a very common expedient in all farce, for the production of a comic effect, where the actor, affecting to forget his assumed character and the supposed scene of action, appeals to the audience. As in the "Frogs" (the scene being as far below Athens as that of the "Birds" is above) Dionysus asks Xanthias, 274—6,

κατεῖδες οὖν που τοὺς πατραλοίας αὐτόθι
καὶ τοὺς ἐπιόρκους οὓς ἔλεγεν ἡμῖν; ΞΑΝ. σὺ δ' οὐ;
ΔΙΟ. νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔγωγε καὶ νυνὶ γ' ὀρώ.

And again in the same play, 783, Æacus says :

ὀλίγον τὸ χρηστόν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἐνθάδε.

According to Süvern, these passages ought to prove the scene of the "Frogs" to be laid in Athens. But at the very commencement of the "Birds," especial care is taken to inform the audience of the distance to which the Poet, *ut magus*, transports them in imagination: cf. lines 9—11. The two Athenians have lost their way, which they would hardly have done in the vicinity of the Pnyx:

Π. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅπου γῆς ἐσμέν οἷδ' ἔγωγ' ἔτι.

Ε. ἐντευθενὶ τὴν πατρίδ' ἂν ἐξεύροις σύ που ;

Π. οὐδ' ἂν μὰ Δία γ' ἐντευθεν Ἐξηκεσιτίδης.

Again, the poet takes pains to keep the spectators in mind that the scene of his play is between earth and heaven, in Bird-land, by a line which is, I think, generally misunderstood. I allude to 187:

ἐν μέσφ' ἀήπουθεν ἀήρ ἐστι γῆς.

The true meaning of which is, "you know the air is between us and earth." ἐν μέσφ' is here used as μεταξύ sometimes is, with one of the limiting points (so to say) unexpressed. Compare Acharn. 432 sqq.:

ὦ παῖ δὸς αὐτῷ Τηλέφου ῥακάματα,
κείται δ' ἀνωθεν τῶν Θυεστείων ῥακῶν,
μεταξὺ τῶν Ἰνούε.

"They lie above the rags of Thyestes, between *them* and those of Ino."

It would be wearisome alike to myself and my readers to follow the details of Süvern's theory any further; nor is it worth any one's while to trace the ins and outs of perverse ingenuity and misapplied erudition. I have said enough, I trust, to prove that the theory is in its fundamental assumptions utterly unsupported by internal evidence.

But the internal evidence ought to have been strong indeed to outweigh the *a priori* improbability resulting from the entire deficiency of external evidence.

No other extant drama involves any such continuous allegory, (though I dare say Prof. Süvern, with his notions of the laws of criticism, might undertake to prove the contrary with respect to any or all of them); no such complex double μῦθος is hinted at by Aristotle or any critic ancient or modern; no scholiast has

preserved a hint of such an interpretation of the plot of the "Birds," eagerly as their congenial minds would have welcomed such a suggestion; and a discovery which has escaped the penetration of all the critics of Alexandria, Pergamos and Byzantium, is reserved for a barbarian Professor twenty-two centuries after date.

To my mind it is quite clear that had any such subtle series of *double entendres* been originally conceived by the Poet, instead of the Professor, he would have left his audience then as completely in the dark as his critics afterwards.

The holyday crowd which assembled at the Dionysia went to the theatre to get rid of serious impressions, not to receive them, to laugh at obvious fun, not to puzzle over a painful enigma. According to Süvern's conception, the "Birds" would not be an old comedy at all, but merely an acted charade.

The old comedy retained, throughout, its original "autoschediastic" character; the plot was eminently simple, and was never adhered to with uniform consistency; the poet always preferred his joke to his plot, and systematically sacrificed the consistency of his characters to the first pun that offered.

How small was the demand which he made on the acuteness of his audience may be seen by the pains which he takes in the "Knights" to make them recognize Cleon without the characteristic nose (230 sqq.):

καὶ μὴ δέδιθ', οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐξηκασμένος.
ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἤθελε
τῶν σκευοποιῶν εἰκάσαι. πάντως γε μὴν
γνωσθήσεται· τὸ γὰρ θέατρον δεξιόν.

How then could they be expected to recognize "two single gentlemen rolled into one" in Peisthetærus? or that strange combination of a familiar genus and obscure individual in Euelpides?

This Essay of Süvern's is one of the many attempts which dull commentators have so often made upon works of imagination and humour to find some hidden signification, whether metaphysical thesis or hard matter of fact, beneath the brilliant surface, "and give the astonished Bard a meaning all their own." Indeed, neither prose nor verse is safe from the interpretation of dunces. Lucian, Rabelais, Cervantes, Butler, Boileau, Pope, have each had a Dennis in turn. Pope's burlesque commentary

on the Rape of the Lock is not a whit more absurd than the sober earnestness of Professor Silvern.

The following extract is a complete anticipation of the style and method of the Essay on the "Birds."

"Sir Plume (a proper name for a soldier) has all the circumstances that agree with Prince Eugene.

"Sir Plume, of amber snuff-box justly vain,
And the nice conduct of a clouded cane,
With earnest eyes——

"It is remarkable, this general is a great taker of snuff, as well as towns; his conduct of the clouded cane gives him the honour which is so justly his due, of an exact conduct in battle, which is figured by his cane or truncheon, the ensign of a general. His *earnest eye*, or the vivacity of his look, is so particularly remarkable in him, that this character could be mistaken for no other, had not the author purposely obscured it by the fictitious circumstances of a *round unthinking face*.

"Having now explained the chief characters of his *human persons* (for there are some others that will hereafter fall in by the bye, in the sequel of this discourse), I shall next take in pieces his *machinery*, wherein the satire is wholly confined to ministers of state.

"The Sylphs and Gnomes at first sight appeared to me to signify the two contending parties of this nation; for these being placed in the air, and those on the *earth*, I thought agreed very well with the common denomination, *high* and *low*. But as they are made to be the first movers and influencers of all that happens, it is plain they represent promiscuously the *heads of parties*; whom he makes to be the authors of all those changes in the state, which are generally imputed to the levity and instability of the British nation:

This erring mortals levity may call:
Oh blind to truth! the Sylphs contrive it all.

But of this he has given us a plain demonstration; for, speaking of these spirits, he says in express terms:—

The chief the care of *nations* own,
And guard with *arms* divine the *British throne*.

"And here let it not seem odd, if, in this mysterious way of writing, we find the same person, who has before been repre-

sented by the *Baron*, again described in the character of Ariel, it being a common way with authors, in this fabulous manner, to take such a liberty. As for instance, I have read in St Evremont, that all the *different* characters in Petronius are but Nero in so many different appearances. And in the key to the curious romance of Barclay's *Argenis*, both *Poliarchus* and *Archombrotus* mean only the king of Navarre." (Pope's Works, Vol. v. p. 364, Ed. Roscoe).

Now let us take any real allegory—"The tale of a Tub" for instance—how careful the author is to make its application as clear and the details as consistent as possible! No incongruous and inapplicable circumstances are thrown in to "heighten the effect" by perplexing the reader. And if all allegories must be unambiguous in order to produce their effect upon the mind of the reader, and obtain popularity in the closet, much more clear must they be made to the spectator, if they are to succeed on the stage. It is only in the very simplest form, as for instance in the old Moralities, where all is explained and nothing left to be inferred, that Allegory has ever been presented under the guise of Drama. Prof. Süvern may ransack the dramatic history of every people, ancient and modern, without finding a parallel to the plot of the "Birds," as conceived by him. Some idea of its absurdity may be formed by supposing an extravaganza to be produced next Easter at Drury Lane, of which the principal character should be a combination of Mr Disraeli and M. Kosuth, and the second a personification of Young England with the attributes of Ledru Rollin.

WILL. GEO. CLARK.

Fronto and Tacitus.

Niebuhr on Fronto, Walther, Ritter, and Orelli on Tacitus, have omitted to compare Tac. H. iv. 6: (*Etiam sapientibus cupido gloriæ novissima exuitur*) with Fronto, ad M. Cæs. de eloquent. 1 § 7 (p. 78 Nieb.): *Novissimum namque homini sapientiam colenti amiculum est gloriæ cupido: id novissimum exuitur.* Still greater is the resemblance between this passage of Fronto and those of Athen. and Simplic. cited by Orelli (after Lipsius and Boxhorn.) Milton has followed Tacitus. Lycidas 71: *Famie...* That last infirmity of noble minds.

T. E. B. MAYOR.

II.

On Lucretius.

It would hardly perhaps do violence to the taste of the present age to call Lucretius the greatest of extant Latin poets. Like the rest of his countrymen, he is not a great creative genius; we find in him many echoes even of the scanty fragments which we yet possess of the old tragic and epic poets Attius, Pacuvius and, above all, Ennius. He owes still more to the Greeks, especially Empedocles, so far as regards the form of his poem. Many instances have been pointed out in which Lucretius has translated or imitated this philosopher; and doubtless these would be found to be many times more numerous, if the entire works of Empedocles had survived. For among the few new fragments contained in the recently published treatise of Hippolytus there is one (p. 254 ed. Ox.) which has clearly served as the model to a passage in Lucretius. Though it is corrupt, we see from it that Empedocles invokes the muse *αὐτῇ συναγωνίσσθαι*, and uses these words, *ἄμβροτε μοῦσα, . . . νῦν αὖτε παρίστασο, Καλλιόπεια, Ἀμφὶ θεῶν μακάρων ἀγαθὸν λόγον ἐμφαίνοντι*. This passage must have occurred in the latter part of his poem on Nature, where he treated of the gods; and Lucretius in a corresponding portion of his work (vi. 92), before discoursing of heavenly objects, employs a similar metaphor and form of address: *Tu mihi supremæ præscripta ad candida calcis Currenti spatium præmonstra, callida musa, Calliope, &c.* From the splendid eulogies, which in his first book he passes on Ennius and Empedocles, we may feel sure that he did not wish to conceal his obligations, but, like other Latin poets, thought he had a right to make what use he pleased of his Greek and Roman predecessors. And he has merits of his own unsurpassed in the whole compass of Latin poetry. It has often struck me that his genius is akin to that of Milton. He displays a wonderful depth and fervour of thought, expressed in language of singular force and beauty; an admirable faculty of clear and vigorous and well-sustained philosophical reasoning; and a style equal in its purity and correctness to that of Terence, Cæsar or Cicero, and superior to that of any writer of the Augustan age. Al-

though various causes prevented him from receiving from the Romans the amount of praise and acknowledgment to which he was fairly entitled, yet the most famous of their poets must have carefully studied and deeply admired him. His contemporary Catullus gives frequent proofs of imitation; Horace shews in his Odes, as well as in his Satires and Epistles, that he had attentively perused him; Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* and elsewhere has paraphrased whole passages of his poem; and Virgil has gleaned from it with unwearied diligence the most striking expressions and turns of thought. He was not known to Dante and Petrarch, but Tasso has imitated parts of his poem. Molière appears to have commenced his literary career by translating him; and a fragment of this translation is imbedded in the *Misanthrope* (Act II. Sc. 5). Voltaire's admiration was great, but perhaps not disinterested. Among our own countrymen, Spenser has given in the fourth book of the *Faery Queen* an exquisite paraphrase of the address to Venus; Dryden has translated this and other passages; Milton, and I believe Shakespeare, not unfrequently borrow from him thoughts and phrases. In our own days he has obtained high praise from Coleridge and Wordsworth; and Goethe tells us in a letter to Knebel that he had once had the intention of writing a special treatise on the relation of Lucretius to the times in which he lived.

But, notwithstanding all this, fate or accident has dealt hardly with him. It is a curious fact that, while the Greek writers almost without exception were long-lived, hardly a single Latin poet passed the period of middle life; and the two greatest poems of Rome were both left unfinished at the death of their authors. Lucretius was evidently of a morbid temper of mind; Goethe wished to shew that circumstances made him necessarily an Epicurean; but to me his disposition would appear to have been better suited to the doctrines of Zeno. Yet he is perhaps one among many other proofs how nearly allied the two systems were in reality, while, in appearance, exactly opposed to one another: contraries are always contained under the same genus. He seems to have found the times out of joint, and to have sought consolation in the cold apathy of epicureanism. With fiery eloquence he preached the doctrine that tranquillity and repose were all sufficient for happiness; "but thereof came in the end

despondency and madness." He perished by his own hand during a fit of frenzy, in the 44th year of his age, leaving the last five books of his poem incomplete; and it appears to have been unskilfully prepared for publication after his death. This was not however his only mishap. The Augustan poets attained so exclusive a popularity, that the greater part of the older poetical literature fell soon into comparative neglect. The Romans, moreover, as Quintilian informs us, found Lucretius difficult to understand. And thus it came to pass that only a single mutilated manuscript survived the wreck of ancient literature; and many of his verses have been lost to us beyond recovery. After the revival of learning a succession of editors attempted to restore his text, often at the expense of the author's meaning. Even the greatest of them, Lambinus, unsurpassed as a Latin scholar, but a sorry philosopher, has too often given us a mere *καλὸς κακῶν ὑπουργον*, serving only to obscure the meaning by concealing from us our ignorance. At length Wakefield, professing to restore the text by a collation of several manuscripts and old editions, rendered "confusion worse confounded" by a total misapprehension of the true state of the case, introducing as the genuine words of the poet the merest blunders of copyists, and adding to this a rashness and unconscientiousness almost without example. I have this moment before me a collation of our Cambridge manuscript, and I find that Wakefield is as frequently wrong as right in the readings which he cites from it. Thus he filled with the grossest barbarisms a writer whose *latinity* is as pure as that of Cæsar or Terence; and explained these in defiance alike of sense and grammar. Madvig was the first to give a hint of the right method of proceeding. This was done much more completely by Jac. Bernays of Bonn in a dissertation based on a collation of the two Leyden manuscripts and published in the Rhenish Museum for 1847. To this essay Lachmann has hardly done justice: I do not mean to say that he could not have done all that he did without it, but it certainly anticipates him in several of his discoveries. But these dawnings of the truth were soon lost in the blaze of Lachmann's edition, which placed the criticism of Lucretius once and for ever on a sure basis. It is not my intention to dilate here on what he has done; this can be best seen by referring to the work itself. We learn from his biographer that he spent upon

it the last five years of his busy life, reading expressly for its illustration a large portion of Latin literature; and it is unquestionably his masterpiece. This edition has been followed by one without notes by Bernays, published in 1852. With great modesty he has bowed to the authority of his predecessor; and it seems to me that he has been often led into error by too great a deference to him: not but that he corrects him in many places, and in others deserts him, I think, without reason. As a critic of the language, Lachmann is supreme; as an interpreter of the philosophy, he appears to me to be less successful, and in not a few passages to have done violence to his author's meaning. Every one who reads this paper will possess Lachmann's, and ought to possess Bernays' edition; I shall therefore content myself with attempting to throw new light on that which I conceive to have been misunderstood by them and previous editors, and by offering emendations of some corrupt passages, Lucretius affording of course a wide scope for this, as his text is derived from a single uncertain source.

Wherever Lachmann examines for himself, his accuracy may be depended upon; where he has trusted to others, he has sometimes been misled. During a residence at Florence in the summer of 1851 I inspected the eight MSS. of Lucretius belonging to the Laurentian library. On comparing the one in Plut. xxxv. 31 with ten MSS. of the same library, written in a beautiful hand and subscribed with the name of Antonius Marii Filius, neither the learned Head-Librarian nor myself could detect the very smallest point of resemblance between the writing of the latter and the MS. of Lucretius. Lachmann again attributes numberless emendations to this Antonius M. F. which are found also in the manuscript Plut. xxxv. 30, attributed to the well-known Nicolaus Nicoli. On the other hand, corrections made in xxxv. 31 are often assigned to Marullus, Lambinus, and others; and Lambinus receives credit for the reading *finem facis* (III. 943) which appears in Avancius. Thus Lachmann, as often happens, from a too great anxiety to give every one his due has overshot the mark. MS. Plut. xxxv. 32 is only noticeable on account of some marginal notes which do not extend much beyond the thousandth verse of the first book, but which display great knowledge and acuteness for the time at which they must have been written. They appear to be principally founded on

the labours of Marullus, and prove that he did more for Lucretius than appears in the Juntine edition. To give a few specimens, 1. 141 the certain correction of *sufferre*, as well as *perferre*, is proposed instead of *efferre*; to 459 &c. are annexed the words *Tempus est secundum Aristotelem inensura motus*; Lachmann's transposition of 434 and 435 is anticipated in this note: *Videtur proponere tantum de corpore, dicendo Augmine vel grandi, &c.; non enim conveniunt illa nisi corpori...si legatur Nam quodcunque...Cui si tactus...Augmine vel...Corporis...putebit sermo.* The note prefixed to 1014 shews that the brilliant Marullus in the 15th century had been beforehand with Madvig and Lachmann in detecting the hiatus there: *Credit Marullus deesse hic aliqua carmina, quæ containerent transitum ab infinitate inanis ad infinitatem corporum*; in his enim *Nec mare nec tellus &c. procul dubio agit de infinitate corporum, cum supra de utroque infinito se dicturum promiserit, Nunc age summa audi quænam sit &c. (953).* At 873 are the words: *Locus corruptus.* At 884 Lachmann's reading is proposed. Sometimes a perverse ingenuity is shewn, as at 98: *Inceste i. e. sine nuptiis, quasi a cesto quod Veneris cingulum est*; at 971, *Invalidis* is explained by *valde validis*. Gifanius had without doubt access to notes of Marullus which we do not now possess. I may here mention that I purchased some years ago from the London bookseller H. G. Bohn a copy of the edition of Gifanius' Lucretius published at Leyden in 1595, containing a complete collation by Nic. Heinsius of the two Leyden MSS. and the fragmentum Gottorpiense, far more satisfactory than that by the incompetent Havercamp, together with a transcript of Modius' collation of his own MS. The latter is thus described by Heinsius: *Variantes lectiones excerptæ sunt ex libello edito Paris. An. 1565, quem Fr. Modius cum MS. suo contulit, ut ipse testatur fine libri vi. inquit: Collatus cum MS. meo 26 Junii 1579, Coloniae. Cujus usuram mihi concesserat Rev. et doctiss. D. Liræus, Prof. ad quem devenit a Jacobo Grutero, ad hunc a Nansio, ad hunc denique ab ipso Modio.* He observes in another place: *Codex Modii non est idem cum B. Vossiano; nam p. 8 (l. 227) ubi ex modiano notatum ad lumina vossianus in.* This is strange, if true. Heinsius gives numerous conjectures of his own and others, most of them not recorded in his *Adversaria* nor elsewhere, so far as I know. I may on a future occasion

publish some of these; at present I will content myself with noting that at i. 141 he too suggests *sufferre*, but he may have seen the edition of Faber published in 1662; at v. 747 he suggests *didit* for the *redit* of MSS.; at iii. 1016 *jactu' reorum*; at vi. 1195 he anticipates Lachmann in proposing *tumebat*.

The extent and accuracy of Lachmann's knowledge is so great, that it may well be said of him, as of Bentley, that you often learn more from him when wrong, than from others when right; but certainly he often lays down arbitrary rules to which he forces Lucretius to conform by a Procrustean process. He observes that it is illiberal to expect too great uniformity in spelling; it appears to me no less illiberal to refuse to Lucretius such slight idiomatic deviations from strict grammar, as all Greek and Roman writers allowed themselves. Lachmann asserts that it violates the "*antiqui sermonis castitas*" to use *et* for *etiam*, and then remorselessly alters some ten passages; not one of which has the least appearance of being corrupt. Why Bernays in some of these instances retains *et*, in others rejects it, I cannot tell. Not only did Lucretius use *et* for *etiam* in these passages, but I believe that in two others it is to be restored. No confusion in our MSS. is more common than that between *ut* and *et*; therefore in iv. 638 I would read: *Est itaque et serpens*, for the *ut* of MSS., "thus there is a serpent also;" *a* and *e* and *æ* too are continually interchanged; in vi. 604, therefore, I would read *subdit et hunc stimulum*, for Lachmann's reading does not seem to me satisfactory. Nor can I accept unconditionally his dicta about the omission of the substantive verb; certainly I should not read *est* for *e*, ii. 194, nor for *in*, ii. 431; iv. 271 and 278, he corrupts the sense by changing *vere*, which is certainly the true reading, into *sunt bene*; here Bernays does not follow him; ii. 137, I believe *quæ porro* is right, not *pro-porro*; v. 720, I should not read *sit* for *si forte*; nor am I convinced of the necessity of inserting *est* in i. 111 and vi. 746. Again, I am not sure that Lucretius, because he uses *fulgère*, *fulgit*, &c., would never have used *fulget*, *fulgent*, *refulget*, *fulgère*. Virgil has *fulgère*, *fervere*, yet he does not avoid *fulgent*, *fervet*, &c. I am equally indisposed to believe that Lucretius denied himself the liberty of lengthening a short syllable by *cæsura*, as in ii. 27, *fulgēt* or *fulgit auroque*, and in iii. 21, where I retain *sempēr in-nubilis* with the MSS. Again in v. 1049 I cannot believe that-

scirēt animoque videret is not right; the sense requires it, not *scirent* &c. In the exactly parallel construction of v. 183 we have this argument: Before the creation of man, whence came to the gods the idea of man, so that they were able to know and conceive in mind what they wanted to do? so in the passage we are now considering the reasoning is this: Before the invention of language, whence did the first inventor acquire the faculty of knowing and conceiving in mind what he wanted to do? *facere* depending on *vellet*, as in the other passage. Lachmann's reading seems to me not only weak, but also to anticipate the argument which is introduced in the next verse by *item*. The inventor had first to conceive the notion himself, next to impart it to others. In order to avoid the *hiatus*, which Virgil and other poets employ so frequently, Lachmann emends, awkwardly in my opinion, the corrupt verse vi. 755: *Sed natura loci opus efficit ipsa suapte*, in this way, *Sed natura loci vi ibus efficit* &c. I would change the position of two letters and read: *Sed natura loci ope sufficit ipsa suapte*; *ope* having its original force, "the nature of the place suffices by its own power," *vi*, "means;" so Virgil *Æn.* i. 600: *Grates persolvere dignas Non opis est nostræ*; and Cicero *Att.* xiv. 14: *Omni ope atque opera enitar*; &c. Lachmann seems to be fond of the word *ibus*; iv. 934 he changes *ejus* into *ab ibus*, denying that it can agree with *aeris*, understood from *aeris auris*, although I feel convinced that no Latin poet would hesitate at such a construction, and he himself does not object to *genus humanum quorum*, ii. 174; nor to *mortalia sæcla* followed by *unusquisque eorum*, v. 990. Again, vi. 759, I would retain the MS. reading: *si sint mactata*, agreeing with *animalia* understood out of *quadripedes*, instead of Lachmann's otiose: *si fit mactatus*; thus i. 352, *totas* agrees with *arbores* understood out of *arbusta*, as Lachmann himself admits, and i. 294, I would retain *rapidi* agreeing with *venti* understood out of *flamina venti*. Did space permit, I could say more on this question. To speak of another point which may appear more questionable, the instances in which our MSS. omit *ut* after *fit efficit*, &c. are too numerous to permit me to doubt that the poet himself sometimes admitted this construction. Compare what Oudendorp ad Appul. i. p. 30 b says. On what principle Lachmann refuses to Lucretius the right to use *isdem* I cannot comprehend; certainly in ii. 693 *nulla... isdem* should be read, and in

v. 349 *idem* seems to be necessary. Other minute points like these I shall for the present pass over; but I may here observe that I do not think Lachmann warranted in making *cujus* a monosyllable in Lucretius; i. 149, this can be prevented by the simple transposition of Marullus or Avancius; and iv. 1089, I would read *quom...tum* for *quam...tam*.

I will now proceed to discuss some passages in which the meaning and philosophy of our poet appear to want elucidation. i. 459—482, Lucretius shews that time is not self-existent, but is only perceived by the things done in it, and that these things are mere accidents of matter and space, *corporis atque loci*, &c. 482. In the course of this passage he illustrates his argument (464, &c.) by saying, with the play on the substantive verb usual among the ancients, that you are not to suppose, because Helen *was* ravished and the Trojan people *were* subdued, that the rape of Helen and conquest of Troy now *are*, since time has irrevocably swept away the generations of which these things were accidents. Then comes 469, which stands thus in the MSS. *Namque aliut terris, aliut regionibus ipsis Eventum &c.*, which makes no sense; Lachmann's *persest* for *terris* destroys the meaning; Bernays' *sæclis* I don't understand. Now *c* and *r* are perpetually interchanged in our MSS., read therefore *Teucris* for *terris*: "one thing may be called an accident of the Trojans, i.e. *corporis*, another of the countries there, i.e. *loci*, res in quo geruntur." Lachmann, i. 489, reads *cælum* for *cæli*, and his reasoning is in my opinion most perverse. Lucretius is giving instances from which the vulgar apprehension falsely infers that nothing can be perfectly solid, because what they see and think to be most solid, is yet broken or dissolved, stone walls, metals, &c. Now the fact that lightning passes through air, one of the rarest of mediums, could hardly be given as an illustration of this belief. Keep therefore *cæli*, and in the next verse *ut*. But v. 1244, where authority is in favour of *cæli* fulmine misso, Lachmann reads *cælo*, and remarks: "*neque dixit alibi Lucretius fulmen cæli, sed plagam cæli supra, 1095;*" that is to say, *plaga cæli*, being once used, proves that *fulmen cæli* is not right though twice used, so far as we can depend on our MSS. Surely *fulmen cæli* is not a more unusual expression than *sol cæli* or *nubila cæli*.

I now come to a more important passage, i. 599—634, which

all editors, from Lambinus to Bernays, seem to have vied with one another in corrupting. From 485, Lucretius has been proving, by a variety of arguments that his atoms are "of solid singleness," everlasting and unchangeable; that, to use the words of Newton near the end of his Optics, "these primitive particles being solids, are incomparably harder than any porous bodies compounded of them, even so very hard as never to wear or break in pieces. While the particles continue entire, they may compose bodies of one and the same texture in all ages; but should they wear or break in pieces, the nature of things depending on them would be changed....And therefore that nature may be lasting, the changes of corporeal things are to be placed only in the various separations, and new associations and motions of these permanent particles, compound bodies being apt to break not in the midst of solid particles, but where those particles are laid together." He now, 599, &c. introduces by *tum porro*, "once again," his concluding argument to prove that his atoms are indestructible, by shewing that while they have parts, as they must have in order to possess the qualities necessary for producing things, yet these parts being what he calls *minima*, and Epicurus ἐλάχιστα, i.e. the least conceivable, have no properties of their own, and therefore cannot exist alone and by themselves, and therefore must have existed in the atom from all eternity, and never can cease to exist in it. This therefore is only a further proof that atoms are *solida simplicitate*. Before saying more of this passage, I will explain and correct another, which will illustrate it, but which has itself been mutilated by Lachmann and other editors. I. 746, &c. Lucretius blames Empedocles and others for not admitting that there is a limit to the division of matter, and that there can exist a *minimum* in things, (in 748, the last word is mutilated; it would perhaps be better to read with the Florentine MS. xxxv. 31 *quire*, rather than *quicquam*, though it makes but little difference), "though we see," says Lucretius, "that that is the extreme point of any thing, which is the least that can be perceived by our senses, so that you may infer from this, that because those things which you cannot see (that is to say the atoms, the *primordia ceca*) have an extreme," (now in the mutilated v. 752, not *prorsum* is to be supplied, but say *in illis*,) "there exists a minimum in them likewise." What force there may be in Lucretius'

argument I will not say, but what he means is not doubtful. In visible things there is a last extreme vanishing point, beyond which perception cannot go, and which you cannot conceive existing separate from the thing; so analogically you may reason that atoms have such, and that as they are not formed by a coming together of their parts, but have existed as they are from eternity, they may be supposed to consist of minima, ἐλάχιστα, existing in eternal juxta-position, because incapable of existing alone, as will be shewn in 599—634. In Epicurus' letter to Herodotus (Diog. Laert. x. 58) there is a very difficult and corrupt passage, which however will throw light on the reasoning of Lucretius. There Epicurus speaks first of the τὸ ἐλάχιστον τὸ ἐν τῇ αἰσθήσει, "the least thing which can be perceived by sense," the "extremum cujusque cacumen" of Lucretius (i. 749); and afterwards goes on to say in the same sense as Lucretius, ταύτῃ τῇ ἀναλογίᾳ νομιστέον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀτόμῳ ἐλάχιστον κεχρησθαι. μικρότητι γὰρ ἐκείνο δῆλον ὡς διαφέρει τοῦ κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν θεωρουμένου, ἀναλογία δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ κέχρηται· ἐπεὶ περ καὶ ὅτι μέγεθος ἔχει ἡ ἄτομος κατὰ τὴν ἐνταῦθα ἀναλογίαν κατηγορήσαμεν. The whole passage is, however, too long and corrupt for me to attempt to elucidate at present; I will therefore now turn to Lucretius 599—634. Lachmann has played sad havoc with these verses by introducing at least five violent and unwarrantable alterations, and other editors have equally sinned. What meaning they have attached to the passage, I do not know, for in every two verses they appear to contradict themselves. It is beyond all question that Lucretius is here speaking of the *minima*, the parts of an atom, parts, perhaps, as the acute marginal annotator of Flor. xxxv. 32 says, *potentia* rather than *actu*. It would be worth while to refer to two other passages, where Lucretius discourses of the parts of atoms; the one ii. 483—499, of which I shall presently have to say more; the other, v. 351—355, where he refers to our present passage, on which I am dwelling at greater length on account of the strange blundering of editors: Tum porro quoniam est extremum quodque cacumen Corporis illius, quod, &c.: "Once again, since there is in every case an extreme point to that body which our senses cannot see," i.e. to the ἀόρατος ἄτομος; for here, and just below, 606, and ii. 484 and 490, *corpus* is used in the singular for an atom; compare also i. 483: Corpora sunt porro partim primordia rerum; "*id*, that *cacumen* is without parts, and consists

of a nature the least conceivable, and never has existed apart by itself, and never hereafter will be able so to exist, since it is *ipsūm, αὐτὸ καὶ αὐτό*, essentially part of the other, i. e. the atom." The atom, he goes on to say, consists of such *cacumina*, not brought together, but which have existed side by side from all eternity. "First one part, then another, and still another like part in fixed order," *ἑξῆς*, as Epicurus says, "fill up in close-serried mass the nature of the atom." And since these parts cannot exist alone, they must necessarily adhere inseparably; so far therefore from shewing that atoms are destructible, this is only another proof that they are of solid singleness, that "they closely cohere, massed together of parts which are the least conceivable, not formed from a bringing together of those parts (*illarum*), but, rather, strong in everlasting singleness." He then goes on to say, that unless there be such a minimum, or so-called part of an atom, which cannot exist alone, there will be no limit to the division of things. "But (623) since reason protests against this, you must admit that points exist so small as to be possessed of no parts, and which are of a nature the least conceivable," i. e. which cannot have an independent existence, "and since such points (*ea*) exist, those primal elements too," viz. the atoms of which these minima are part, "you must allow to be solid and everlasting. Again, (*si*, not *nī*, which ruins the sense) if nature were to reduce all things into parts the least conceivable," i. e. go beyond the atom in her subdivision of things, "she could reproduce nothing out of them, because things which have no parts (*nullis* not *multis*) cannot possess the qualities, which generating matter must possess, the *varios connexus*," &c.; and which the atoms of Lucretius do possess. Lucretius next proceeds to refute the doctrine of Heraclitus, adopted by the Stoics, and therefore hateful to an Epicurean, that fire is the primary material of all things. Now the alterations introduced into the above passage by all editors from Lambinus downwards (the learned marginal annotator of one of the Florentine MSS. of whom I have spoken above, understands the general drift of the argument) destroy all connexion between it and the succeeding passage. *Quapropter*, Lucretius says (635), "Wherefore they who believe that the universe consists of fire alone, are widely mistaken. At the head of whom comes Heraclitus to do battle, famous for his obscurity rather among

the *inanis*, i.e. the Stoics, than the *graves Graios*, who seek the truth, the Epicureans. For fools, &c." (the poet here, and in i. 1068, retorts on the Stoics the epithet *stolidi*, which they applied to all but themselves). "For how could such a diversity of things (645), be produced from single unmixed fire," and so on through a lengthened chain of reasoning. How could simple unmixed fire have the qualities which generating matter ought to have. But if *ni* is read in 628, and *multis* in 631, the argument is utterly ruined*.

I may here attempt to emend a verse in a passage to which I have just referred as bearing on the parts of atoms, and which has been awkwardly corrected by Lambinus, Lachmann, and others. II. 483 MSS. read: *Namque in eadem una cujusvis in brevitae, &c.* For *Namque in* read *Nam quoniam*, i.e. for *q. in* read *qm̃*, *in* and *m* of course being often confused; so IV. 710 MSS. have *qum* for *quin*. This *quoniam* then begins the *protasis* of a long sentence, which is taken up and continued at *fac enim*, and in 485; and then the *apodosis* commences with *ergo* 495, as in I. 526 and V. 260. The corruption may have been caused by the copyists looking on *eadem* as a trisyllable; thus IV. 334, Lachmann rightly reads *convertitur* (i.e. *convertit*) *eodem*, instead of *convertit eodem*; and I think I can thus emend a corrupt passage, VI. 563: *Inclinata minent in eadem prodita partem*; for *minent* read *minantur*, *e* and *a* being continually interchanged; with this use of *minantur*, compare V. 1237 *dubiaeque minantur*, and IV. 403. The interchange of the active and passive forms in our MSS. is very frequent; thus at the end of II. 673 there is the corrupt *traduntur*, for which I should read *condunt*. The change of *qm̃* into *que in* may be compared with *quoq. vere* for *coquere* in V. 1102; and this suggests to me what I look upon as the right emendation of II. 547, where for the corrupt *sumant oculi* Lachmann strangely

* After I had written the above explanation of this passage, which I have had by me for years, my attention was lately drawn to an article in the *Philologus* for 1852, in which the writer, Herm. Lotze (p. 701, &c.), sees a part, but only a part of the truth. The same writer has likewise explained a passage (II. 1010—1012) simple enough, but

strangely misunderstood by all editors, especially Lachmann, whose note is most perverse. Translate "You are not to believe that that which we see moving uncertainly on the mere surface of things," viz. colour, "can be a property inherent in the everlasting primal particles." The passage is thus closely connected with what precedes and follows.

reads *si manticuler*, and still more strangely explains it. I propose: Quippe etenim *sumam hoc quoque uti*; as *c* and *qu*, *c* and *t*, *t* and *l*, are frequently interchanged, it is easy to get *sumam cocutē sumant oculi*; (II. 291, it is perhaps best to insert *hoc not id* before *cogatur*). Just above Lucretius has introduced a concession by the words, *id quoque uti concedam*. The argument here clearly is, "For though I were to assume this point also, that a finite number of generating elements of one thing were tossed about throughout the All, yet whence, by what force, in what manner will they come together and combine in so vast an ocean, such an alien medley of matter?" The construction of II. 483, &c., supposing my reading of *quoniam* to be right, where *quoniam... fac enim*, &c... down to 495, is all the protasis, will, I think, illustrate III. 425, &c., where you have *quoniam* at the commencement; then in 429 *nam longe &c.* wrongly altered by Lachmann to *jam*, for the apodosis does not begin here; the sentence is then interrupted by the parenthetical lines 431 and 432, and the protasis is again taken up at 434: *Nunc igitur &c.* Compare also IV. 54—61—63, where the anacoluthon is precisely similar.

I now proceed to some other passages in which the philosophy of Lucretius has been misunderstood. The poet (I. 995) says: "All things are ever carried on in ceaseless motion from all parts, and particles of matter sent up out of the infinite are supplied from below (*inferna*)." Lachmann reads *æterna*, and says: "Marullus *æternaque* rei convenienter, quamvis secus videatur Wakefieldo et Forbigero, qui quotiens philosophantur delirant." But here it is not Wakefield and Forbiger, "qui delirant." Epicurus conceived his atoms as originally racing through space with a uniform perpendicular downward motion, and thus incapable of combining and producing aught; when, by his curious supposition of an imperceptibly small declination from the perpendicular, they were enabled to clash together, atoms could then receive by impact an upward or a transverse motion; so that in his view the downward movement represented the destructive power, the upward the productive and conservative power. Lucretius says (I. 1049) that in order to preserve existence, "it is necessary that many particles should rise up from below, *suboriri*." This might be illustrated at greater length. But it will be said that Lucretius repeats over and

over again, that atoms move about in *cunctas undique partes*. True, but yet with reference to the *omne*, which has no limit, and therefore no bottom, Epicurus seems to have regarded motion upwards as conservative, motion downwards as destructive. For that there is one upward, and one downward direction, he repeats again and again. The inherent necessity of their nature maintains a constant supply of atoms from above; accident at any moment may, and at some moment must, interrupt the supply from beneath, and then our heaven and earth, or any other of the numberless systems, must "pass away along the bottomless void, so that in a moment of time not a rack will be left behind; nothing, save untenanted space and viewless primal elements" (I. 1108). I cannot understand why Lachmann objects to make the simile in I. 1060 refer to what precedes, and alters *et simili* to *adsimili*; nothing can give a better apparent illustration of weights pressing upwards at our antipodes. Again, IV. 418 and 419, he seems to me to corrupt the passage by his transposition and other changes. I read: *Nubila despicere et cælum ut videre videre et Corpora mirando sub terras abdita cælo*. "And bodies withdrawn into the depths of that marvellous heaven below the earth:" a good picture of the reflection of the sky, &c. in the water. In IV. 462 also I should read *mirando*. As to the imperfect verses, I. 1068, &c., there can be no doubt of the meaning of the first four, whatever the actual words may have been; but 1072—3 ought, I think, to be supplied by these or similar words: *consistere* [*eam magis ob rem*]; and then *alia* should not be altered, but a word like *repelli* be supplied at the end of the verse: "nor, even supposing there be a middle point, can anything rest at that point for that reason, rather than for some quite different reason be driven away from it." II. 911, Lachmann rightly reads *respicit*, but *alios* should not, I think, be changed, for the reference of *alio* is too obscure; the meaning is, "every bodily sense works in relation to other senses, and no part of the body can by itself retain sensation." There is a passage, which occurs twice in Lucretius, III. 790—793, and V. 134—137, and which can hardly be right as it appears in any edition. In the corrupt words *quod si posset enim*, all editors, who make any change, alter *quod* and retain *enim*, but *enim* clearly introduces an absurdity. Lucretius says: "The nature of things forbids the soul to exist

away from the nerves, blood, &c., just as it forbids a tree to grow in the air;" and then with *enim* the meaning would be, *for* if it could so exist, it would rather exist in the head or shoulders, &c. a clear non-sequitur; you want evidently a disjunctive particle, such as *quod si*. Again, it would be absurd to say that "it would be accustomed to be born in any part you please in the *same* man, and to remain in the *same* receptacle:" what is the meaning of *same*? And besides this, the passage does not agree with what follows; *tandem* also would have the meaning of *denique*, which Lucretius would surely not have given to it. Truly we may say with Creech, "Omnia displicent." Now by a very slight change in the first verse, which is manifestly corrupt, viz. by reading *non* for *enim*, (and in MSS. *enim* and *non* are often written almost alike), and by changing the punctuation, all will be intelligible: Quod si posset, *non* multo prius.... Posset et innasci? quavis in....manere? "But even were that possible, would not the soul much rather exist and be born in the head or shoulders or heels (i. e. in some extremity of the body)? would it, I should like to know (*tandem*), continue to reside in any part you please to select of the same man and of the same receptacle," i. e. would it not be liable at any moment to quit any man? *Esse et innasci*, used together, exactly correspond to *durare genique* in 797. iv. 92, the older editors must be right in reading *intrinsicus ortæ*; *extrinsicus torte* is without meaning; so vi. 1099, *intrinsicus* and *extrinsicus* are confused in one MS. What Lachmann means iv. 1058 by *momen* for *nomen*, and by putting a stop after *illæc*, I cannot conceive; the meaning of the passage seems to me most clear, "mute desire tells of the pleasure to come: this pleasure is for us our Venus:" comp. 1084—5; "from that desire comes the name we give to love (*cupido*), from that desire," &c. Creech's *numen* is quite intelligible, though unnecessary, and Lachmann's objection is most perverse, for Lucretius would of course mean that the divinity of love is nothing more than this desire. v. 805, Lachmann should not change *primum* to *passim*; "the earth then first gave forth races of mortal men." *Mortalia sæcla* is used in the same sense as in v. 988, not for living creatures generally; and the succeeding lines, for instance *pueris*, v. 816, prove this. Lachmann is throughout far too rigid in refusing to Lucretius a poet's privilege of using words in different senses. As a philosopher,

Lucretius describes the immibilis æther, the fire-laden empyrean, far withdrawn from winds and rains; yet, like other poets, he again and again speaks of ætheriæ nubes, and of the rains of father æther: yet Lachmann, III. 405, will not let him or others speak of ætheriæ auræ, and II. 1115 he changes ætheraque [æther] into aeraque aer, though in the rhythm of this and the preceding verse Lucretius seems to be imitating the well-known verses of Empedocles, Γαῖα μὲν γὰρ γαῖαν ὀπώπαμεν ὕδατι δ' ὕδαρ Αἰθέρι δ' αἰθέρα διον ἀτὰρ πυρὶ πῦρ αἰδηλον; V. 514 Lucretius says, æterni sidera mundi, though it is one of the cardinal points of his philosophy, that our *mundus*, and every other *mundus*, are perishable. VI. 15 and 16, *querellis* is found at the end of both these verses; in one of the two the true word has been displaced by a very common error of copyists. Lachmann, in the second, reads *periclis*; but *sævire querellis* is surely better than *sævire periclis*; but he also supplants the genuine-looking *Pausa atque* by *passimque*; read *sine ulla* for the first *querellis*, and all will be clear: *animi* is governed of *ingratis*, as in Plaut. Cas. II. 5. 7: *amborum ingratiis*.

There can be no question that Lachmann is right in saying that the archetype of our MSS. was written in thin capitals, like the Medicean Virgil; a glance at the various readings will prove this; letters of similar sound are also often interchanged. But there is likewise a perpetual confusion of letters which resemble each other when written in a small rather than a capital character. My experience in such matters is slight, but it has always appeared to me that none of our MSS. comes immediately from the archetype: that at least one written in the "littera minuscula" has intervened. Lachmann has frequently done good service by observing the law of change; but seeing that *e* and *i* are perhaps more frequently confused than any other letters, I don't know why he believes that he better represents the MS. readings *transere*, *sentere*, *unguente*, *se*, *tale*, by writing *transeire*, &c., than by keeping the common forms; nor why *tripodi* should be read in the first book, but *tripode* in the fourth; nor why Lachmann and Bernays, VI. 66, retain *rationi*, though the poet everywhere else uses *ratione*. Indeed, I cannot understand on what principle Bernays rejects or retains these unusual forms. Why should he refuse *unguentei*, *sei*, &c. but keep *talei*? Why reject *ni* for *ne*, but retain *nive*? Many corrupt passages may still, I think, be

emended by noticing what letters most frequently interchange in our MSS.; for instance, *e, i, f, l* and *t*, which are very similar in the thin capital writing; *c* and *g*; *b* and *v*; *b* and *p*; *d* and *t*; *l* and *r*; *l* and *b*; *c* and *e*; *p, t* and *c*; *p* and *q*; *q* and *c*; *b, d, r* and *p*; *f* and *p*; *a, e, o* and *u*; *a* and *n*; *u* and *n*; *s* and *c*; *r* and *c*; *s* and *f*; *n* and *m*; *r* and *v*; *s* and *t*, especially at the end of words; *s* and *m* at the end of words, owing to the way in which the final *m* is often written; not unfrequently we find *n* and *d* interchanged; *re, ri* and *n*; *al, in* and *m*; *c* and *d*; *cl, ct* and *d*; *x, s* and *sc, &c.* Any one may satisfy himself on these points by glancing at the various readings in Lachmann's edition. I will first attempt to emend the two very corrupt verses II. 42, 43, as I am not satisfied with the alterations of either of the two last editors. The reading of MSS. is, *Subsidiis magnis epicuri constabilitas Ornatas armis itast[at]uas tariterque animatas*, the words in Italics being manifestly corrupt. In the 2nd verse *tariter* should of course be *pariter*; Lachmann reads *validas* for the other corrupt word in this verse, which departs widely from the "ductus literarum;" in the 1st verse he reads *magnisque elephantis*, much to his own content; but not to mention other objections, elephants must in the days of Lucretius have been a rare accompaniment of Roman legions in the Campus Martius. For we are told that Cæsar when in Africa some years later, fetched some elephants from Italy in order to accustom his soldiers to the sight of them. Bernays has *hastatis* in the first verse, but surely *hastati* did not form the reserve of an army. One kind of force was however indispensable to a legion, viz. cavalry; compare a similar passage II. 329, &c. For *epicuri* therefore I read confidently *equitūvi*. It is not so easy to see what to supply in the second verse: a legion, however, required not only to be *armata* and *animata*, but also *instructa*; we find in the *Bell. Gall.* VIII. 36, *legionem armatam instructamque adducit*; for *instruere* Livy, Virgil, and perhaps Cæsar use *struere*; I would propose therefore to read in the second verse, *Ornatas armis structas pariterque animatas*, "your legions, waging the mimicry of war, supported flank and rear with powerful reserves, great force of cavalry, armed and in array of battle, animated all with a like spirit." Cæsar, after his consulship, at the beginning of B.C. 58, nearly four years before the death of Lucretius, stayed with his army three months before Rome and

was fiercely assailed by Memmius, at that time Prætor and at deadly feud with him. It is not unlikely that in these pointed verses the poet alludes to Cæsar's army, and that in the words, I. 42, *Nec Memmi clara propago Talibus in rebus communi desse saluti*, he refers to Memmius' opposition to Cæsar and Clodius the tool of the triumvirs. I. 271, surely *portus* should be read for *cortus* with the Flor. MS. xxxv. 31; and VI. 237: *usque adeo pellens fervore*, instead of *tellens*, "continually beating upon it with its heat." Lachmann's *pollens* is hardly so suitable, and differs more from the MSS. II. 267, I should read *conquiri* for *conciri*: I have above given other instances of the confusion of *q* and *c*. I. 657, I do not hesitate to read *Sed quia multa sibi cernunt contraria nasci*; the MS. reading *muse* or *mu*, shews that the word was somewhat obliterated, and supposing the final *i* to have been lost, the other letters would at once interchange. The MS. reading of VI. 550 is very corrupt, *Nec minus exultant es dupuis cumque vim*; there is no doubt that Lachmann rightly substitutes *viai* for *vim*; but *et ubi lapis* for the other corrupt words is much less likely, and to me indeed hardly intelligible; for surely Lachmann means *tecta* to be the nominative to *exultant*, and then the comparison tells you nothing at all. As the rest of the passage is sound enough, it seems not improbable that some unusual word has deceived the copyists; *scrupus* would suit the sense, and is near the ductus literarum. "*Scrupi dicuntur aspera saxa et difficilia attrectatu*," says Festus; lexicons only give two other instances of its use, one from Cicero in a metaphorical, and one from Petronius in a literal sense: *Cum per omnes scrupos traxissemus cruentos pedes*; though Servius, *ad Æn.* VI. 238, also mentions the word; but Lucretius himself, IV. 523, uses the adjective *scruposus*, and Virgil *scrupeus*. The verse must then be completed by adding *qua* which may have been absorbed in *quomque*, or perhaps by prefixing *ut* "when," absorbed in the last two letters of *exultant*; for as Lucretius' contemporaries Cicero and Cæsar use *ut* in this sense, I am not sure that he would not have so employed it once; Catullus and perhaps Virgil *Æn.* V. 329 use *ut* for "where." VI. 762, Lachmann's strange *Puteis* seems to me not to suit the passage, if the word were otherwise allowable; Lucretius appears to be speaking here, not of the lake Avernus only, but of such places generally. Since *f* and *p* are often interchanged, as *facto* for *pacto*,

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these elements of a nature accustomed to derive sensation from other elements in their turn (*porro*);" see here 981, &c., "and at the same time make them soft, &c.;" then in 905 *cuique* would be a less violent alteration than *cuncta*. From what has been just said I have no doubt that Lambinus is right III. 84 in reading *fundo* for *suadet*; it makes far better sense and is as near the "ductus literarum" as either Lachmann's or Bernays' reading: *f*, *n*, *o* being displaced by *s*, *a*, *et* respectively. No two letters more frequently interchange in our MSS. than *b* and *d*; *ad* and *ab*, *arbor* and *ardor*, &c., are again and again confused; this suggests to me what I look upon as the right emendation of a corrupt word in the beautiful description of the cow searching for her lost calf in the second book; 359, for *adsittens* read *absistens*; the mother looks all round for her lost calf, then fills the leafy grove with her complainings *as she desists from the search*, and then returns to her stall, &c. No one can help feeling how natural a picture this is of the cow standing still and lowing after her search, before she goes back. At the end of words *s* and *m* are frequently confused, as I have observed above; this suggests what I think the best correction of another corrupt word in this same passage; 363, for *subitamque* read *subolisque*, "divert her care for her offspring." Lachmann's *solitam* cannot be right; for her care is rather *insolita*. On the principle just mentioned Bernays is right in reading II. 932 *sensum* for *sensus*; but in the next verse *proditus extet* must be read for *proditum extra*, for surely *proditur* is a solœcism. This confusion of *m* and *s* first suggested to me what may seem a violent emendation of v. 312, but the verse is so corrupt, that it must be summarily dealt with. MSS. read *Querere* *proporro* *sibicumque* *senescere credas*, the words in Italics being clearly corrupt, the others apparently sound. The poet is talking of the power of time; in the preceding verses he says, we see it wear out stones, towers, temples, statues of the gods, monuments of men; then comes this corrupt verse in which *proporro* doubtless introduces some new substances which time destroys; and in the next verse he speaks of the rending of flint rocks, proverbial for hardness. What then can we place between, as harder than the first-mentioned things, and only yielding to the last; for *Querere* I read *ceraque*, which consists of almost the same letters differently arranged, and complete the verse thus:

Æraque proporro chalybemque senescere crudum: *u*, *a*, *e* all interchange: *chalybem crudum*, like Virgil's *crudus ensis*; *crudus* also makes a good antithesis to *senescere*. I would start too from this law in emending a very difficult passage, vi. 955—957. I place 955 after 957, not in the awkward place which Lachmann assigns to it, and read: *Et tempestates terra cœloque coortæ* In cœlum terrasque remotæ jura facessunt Morbida visque simul ("and together with them the morbid influence") cum extrinsecus insinuat. This passage will be best illustrated by comparing it with 1095 &c., especially with the words, *ea vis omnis morborum pestilitasque* Aut extrinsecus ut nubes nebulæque superne Per cœlum veniunt, &c. iv. 1130 for the corrupt *alidensia* I cannot accept Lachmann's *alideusia*, for which there is no authority whatever. Comparing Juvenal viii. 101, where among other articles of great luxury are mentioned together *Spartana chlamys*, *conchylia* *Coa*, I read, *Interdum in pallam ac chlamydem se* *Ciaque* vertunt. The first *m* of *chlamydem* has been changed into *al*, a usual corruption, comp. Lachmann i. 665; the words have then easily passed into *atque alidensi*, and the *a* has been added for a termination. A *chlamys* of Laconian purple is probably intended. Lachmann's emendation, iv. 633, *unicus aptus*, departs widely from the MSS. and *unicus* in my opinion is quite unsuited to the argument; for *cibus ut videamus* I read *cibu' suavis et almus*; *suavis* is opposed to *triste et amarum* in the next verse, and *almus* to *venenum* in 637; comp. also 658: for the meaning of *almus* see Bentley ad Hor. Sat. ii. 4. 13. v. 1214 I should read *eterni* for *et taciti* (*etaciti*). iv. 79, perhaps both Lachmann and Bernays depart too far from the MSS. in the readings they propose for the corrupt words *patrum matrumque deorum*. Is Lucretius here speaking of the senators in the orchestra, and can the true reading be something such as *patrum cœtumque decorum*, or *patrum auratumque decorem*? v. 853, I would read, *Feminaque ut maribus conjungi possit, habere Mutua qui mereant inter se gaudia uterque*. Lachmann's *avere* is quite beside the purpose, for surely the *avere* is not necessary on the woman's part, comp. 964 and 965; and why *possit avere*? It seems to me most preposterous to refuse to Lucretius such a slight change of construction as *habere* renders necessary. iv. 608, Lachmann's *feriunt* for *fuerunt* will satisfy few. Change the position of one

letter, and read *ferunt*, which Lucretius could surely have used, and which exactly suits the sense of the passage. III. 617, for *regionibus omnibus* I read *hominis regionibus*; *hominis* and *omnibus* are perpetually confused in MSS., and no error is more common in ours than transposition of words; thus I think that v. 182 will be most simply emended by putting *divis* before *hominum*, or after *unde est*.

A very common error in our MSS. is, as might be expected, the omission of words or parts of words, when the letters are similar to or identical with those which immediately precede or follow. I will attempt to emend some passages on this principle. I. 104, I cannot approve of the change of *possum* into *possunt*. I believe that the poet means to say he too could invent dreams of horror if he pleased, and that Forbiger is right in comparing verse 400, as far as similarity of expression is concerned. But the passage as it stands is certainly weak. The quarto Leyden MS. has *me* for *jam*, the variety could of course easily be accounted for; but it seems to me that the sentence would be improved by thus uniting both readings: *tibi a me fingere possum*, "how many dreams can I invent of myself, on my own part:" comp. IV. 468: *animus quas ab se protinus addit*, "which the mind adds on its own account." II. 168 MSS. have *sine numine reddi*; "*prorsus egregie Marullus rentur*," says Lachmann; yet doubtless *credunt* is the right reading; the *c* is lost in the *e* of *numine*; I have noted the singular frequency with which in our MSS. *c* and *e* are absorbed by each other: in the first 500 verses there are at least four instances of this; and any one conversant with MSS. will know how easily the *unt* in a contracted form would pass into *di*. II. 249, notwithstanding what Lachmann says, I read with the older editors *recta regione viai*; *recta* has been absorbed in *regione*. If *regio* never means "a direction," (though that would appear to be its primitive force), I cannot understand such passages as *Cæs. Bel. Gal. vii. 46 §1: Oppidi murus ab planicie atque initio ascensus recta regione, si nullus amfractus intercederet, MCC passus aberat*, and fifty similar ones. II. 250, perhaps, *qui possit cernere vere* is the right reading, the *vere* absorbed in the last letters of *cernere*; so II. 289, editors rightly read *ne mens* for *ne res*, the *me* having been lost in *ne*. II. 517, for *Omnis enim calor ac frigus*, I read *Extima enim, &c.*; the last letters of the first word have been

lost in *enim*; then on the principle illustrated above we get *ext, ecst, ois*. So IV. 101, for the imperfect verse: *Ex imaginibus missis consistere eorum*, I confidently read *Extima* imaginibus, &c.; Lucretius delights in *eorum* at the end of a verse, and *extima eorum* is much the same as *extima circumcæsuræ*, twice used by Lucretius. II. 926, *quod fuginus* ante has, I believe, no meaning; I read *quod dicimus*; the *d* has been lost in *quod*, and *iximus* easily passes into *igsimus, fugimus*. III. 198, for the corrupt *spicarumque* I propose *asperrima quæque*; the *a* was lost in the *m* of *conlectum*, and *sperrimaquæque* easily became *sperrimaque, spicarumque*: thus II. 428, Bernays is, I think, wrong in reading *unde*, instead of *quæque* with Lachmann, which is only the *que* that has wrongly attached itself to the *unco* of the preceding verse. III. 962, for *agedum magnis* read *agedum humanis* concede; so IV. 1191, *humanis* concede rebus. I have noticed several cases of the omission or insertion of a *g*. II. 1165, *manuum* is rightly read for *magnum*; on the other hand, IV. 429, MSS. have *cogni* for *coni*; this suggests to me what is perhaps the simplest correction of the corrupt *et igni*, v. 1106, viz. *et uti, (igni—ini—uti)*. IV. 104, I would read: *Sunt igitur tenues formæ rerum similesque* Effigæ, &c. comp. 42: *Dico igitur rerum effigias tenuisque figuras*, &c., also 52 and 158; the *formæ rerum* was first contracted into *formarum*, and *similes* then changed into *dissimiles* for the sake of the metre. IV. 284, I cannot understand Lachmann's *iterum*; I would read *in idem* for *in eum*; the *id* has been absorbed in the *in*; thus 1037, where *id in nobis* is to be read with the older editors, not *e nobis*, the *in* has been lost in the *id*. I. 971 MSS. have *invalidis* for *id validis*, and v. 1129 *side* for *sine*. Thus IV. 1168, Bernays rightly reads *tumida* for *iamina*; this I had long ago conjectured myself, appending to the conjecture Ovid's imitation in the A. Am. II. 661: *Dic habilem quæcunque brevis, quæ turgida, plenam*. When in our passage the *id* was lost *em* would naturally be changed to *eum*. IV. 327, I read: *Quinque etiam sex ve ut fieri*. VI. 1121 MSS. have *ve* for *ut*. v. 485, I hardly understand Lachmann's reading. I would suggest: *Et radii solis cogeabant undique terram Verberibus crebris extrema ad limina in artum*; the one *ina* has swallowed up the other, and *partem* was made out of *rtum* in order to complete the verse. VI. 541, surely *summersosca* is *summersos cæca*. The

older writers love to heap together words of the same or similar meaning; thus iv. 624, I should retain *sudantia*, and at the end of v. 586, supply *ignis* with the old editors, not *flammæ*, and i. 720, keep *undis*, and ii. 942, *omnituentes* and *quamque tuentur*, an intentional repetition; so vi. 1260, I unhesitatingly reject Lachmann's insipid *labes*, and keep *languens*; then in the preceding verse I read *ex agris is mæror* in urbem, for the *is* has either been absorbed in *agris*, or by that frequent error in our MSS. *is* and *mæror* have been transposed: ii. 387, and vi. 909, I retain *ortus*, as quite Lucretian. vi. 1281, I fill up this verse by reading "*pro re præsentis mæstus*," the *præse* having been lost in *pro re*, the *nti* in the *m* of *mæstus*.

Bernays has, I think, not unfrequently been misled by too great a deference for Lachmann; often however he has rightly restored the readings of older editors, often he has introduced true emendations of his own; sometimes he has deserted Lachmann without reason in my opinion, for instance in i. 412, ii. 428 and 381, where the corruption *est tali, est ali, est aii* is quite obvious; vi. 1175, where *mersans* appears to me to have much force. On the other hand, not to mention cases in which he only recalls older readings, he is frequently right in new readings of his own, as, to mention a few only, ii. 1089; iii. 694; iv. 761 and 1282; vi. 45, 286, 527 and 1135. He shews good judgment too in rejecting some of Lachmann's transpositions. I am glad to see that he arranges i. 805—807 in the manner I had myself done long ago; here Lachmann preposterously reads *ambusta* for *arbusta*, transposes two verses, and thus turns into an agent of destruction one of the four elements, the combined influence of which is necessary for the argument. Bernays likewise rightly sees in some cases that there is a hiatus, where Lachmann has failed to observe it, as v. 29—31. Long ago, however, I had arranged these verses in a different order from any other editor, and for the following reasons. I believe that after 28 followed a verse completing the sense of 30, and that it began with *Quid*, like 28, and thus, by a usual blunder, came to be omitted; that then, in order to restore the apparent grammatical construction, 29 was put before 30. I would read as follows, intending of course by the verse supplied, only to shew the general meaning of the sentence: *Quidve tripectora, &c.* [*Quid volucres pennis æratis invia stagna*] Tanto-

pere officerent nobis Stymphala colentes Et Diomedis equi, &c. In 31, I read unhesitatingly *Thracis*, as nearer the ductus litterarum of *Thracia*, than *Thracam* is; moreover Thrax was the epitheton sollemne of this Diomede, to distinguish him from the other, who was equally famous for his horses: Nunc, quales Diomedis equi, nunc, quantus Achilles. Again, vi. 47—49, there is clearly a hiatus, but it is not so clear that one verse has managed to survive between two hiatuses; this, for manifest reasons, is improbable; I therefore suppose that after 47, Quandoquidem semel insignem, &c. there is a hiatus in which that sentence was completed, and that then a description followed of the fury of storms, and of the superstitious terrors they caused; and that 48 and 49 allude to the ensuing lull: Ventorum *ex ira ut* placentur, *ut omina* rursum Quæ fuerint sint placato conversa *furore*. The alterations I have made are very slight, with *ex ira ut* changed to *exirtant* comp. *virtuti* for *vir uti*, iv. 820. There are also, I think, several other passages, which can only be rightly understood by assuming a hiatus. II. 501, &c. I am little satisfied with either Lachmann's or Bernays' correction of this passage; I believe something is lost between 501 and 502. Again, II. 1030, I believe *Principio* is quite right, and that some such verse as the following has dropt out after it [Undique diffusum circum supraque tuere.] Again, iv. 397, I feel sure that *Extantisque* is genuine, and believe that something is lost after this or the next verse; Lachmann intrudes his *usque ad nauseam*. Again, vi. 696, &c. I cannot understand Lachmann's violent changes in this passage; I believe the true way of proceeding is to suppose a hiatus after 697.

With a text in the state in which that of Lucretius is, there is a wide scope for difference of opinion. I had collected a number of passages, in which I believed that the latest editors were mistaken either with the earlier ones, or in opposition to them; but, "spatiis inclusus iniquis," I must defer their consideration to a future opportunity. Lachmann has far too great a contempt for his predecessors; else he would hardly have rejected Wakefield's reading, iv. 1096, or Forbiger's *claru' citat*, v. 947; where his own *clarigitat* may well keep company with his *manticuler*.

After dwelling so long on the shortcomings of his commentators, I will conclude with pointing out a blunder of the poet's

own: vi. 1235, &c., in the midst of his description of the plague, he speaks of the fearful contagiousness of the disease, saying that "this above all heaped death upon death, for," and then he gives a most curious reason, "those, who refused to attend the sick, killing neglect soon after punished with a miserable death for their too great love of life and fear of death;" he then adds naturally enough that those who did attend caught the infection and died. That the poet felt the weakness of the first part of the argument seems to be shewn by the elaborate way in which he has tricked it out. Lucretius was doubtless a good Greek scholar, and deserved the epithet of *doctus* which Statius gives to him; but here he has misunderstood Thucydides. He is translating Thuc. ii. 52. § 6: ἕτερος ἀφ' ἑτέρου θεραπείας ἀναπιπλάμενοι, ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα, ζήνησκον καὶ τὸν πλείστον φθόρον τοῦτο ἐνεποίει. εἴτε γὰρ μὴ θέλοιεν δεδιότες ἀλλήλοις προσίεναι, ἀπώλλυντο ἔρημοι, καὶ οἰκίαι πολλὰ ἐκενώθησαν ἀπορία τοῦ θεραπεύεσθαι· εἴτε προσίεν, διεφθείροντο κ.τ.λ. Lucretius has not seen that the subject of ἀπώλλυντο is "the sick persons." Livy (xxv. 26) has understood his author aright: Postea curatio ipsa et contactus ægrorum vulgabat morbos, ut aut *neglecti desertique qui incidissent* morerentur, aut assidentes curantesque eadem vi morbi repletos secum traherent.

HUGH MUNRO.

Juvenal and Ovid.

It is strange that no editor of Juvenal has pointed out the source of his words (xiv. 213, 214): Vinceris, ut Ajax Præterit Telamonem, ut Pelea vicit Achilles. See Ov. Met. xv. 855, 856: Sic magni cedit titulis Agamemnonis Atreus: Ægea sic Theseus, sic Pelea vincit Achilles*.

* This parallel has also escaped Stanley, John Taylor, and Tan. Faber, in their MS. notes. Of these notes, with some collections which I have myself

made, I hope to give a digest, retaining only what is valuable, in some future numbers of the Journal.

J. E. B. MAYOR.

III.

St Paul and Philo; a passage in 1 Cor., illustrated from Philo Judæus.

It does not appear to be generally known that the remarks of St Paul on the *Earthy Man* and the *Heavenly Man*, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, are written with an express reference to the doctrines of Philo; and that while the Apostle adopts his phraseology, he at the same time gives it a new and totally different sense. Nay more, by pointedly inverting the order of the Two Men as it stands in Philo, St Paul has left us a direct and studied refutation of the very passage to which he alludes.

We will, without further preamble, cite their very words, as they proceed to comment on the same passage of Genesis (c. ii. v. 7).

ST PAUL.

Εἰ ἔστιν σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἔστιν καὶ πνευματικόν· οὕτως καὶ γέγραπται· ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος „Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν“ ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν. ἀλλ' οὐ πρῶτον τὸ πνευματικόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ψυχικόν, ἔπειτα τὸ πνευματικόν. ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοικὸς, ὁ δεῦτερος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.— Ep. ad Cor. I. c. xv. vv. 44—47. (Ed. Tischend.)

PHILO.

„Καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς χθονὸς, καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς. Καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.“ Διττὰ ἀνθρώπων γένη· ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ γήϊνος. Ὁ μὲν οὖν οὐράνιος, αἶτε κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγονώς, φθαρτῆς καὶ συνόλως γεώδους οὐσίας ἀμέτοχος· ὁ δὲ γήϊνος ἐκ σποράδος ὕλης, ἣν χοῦν κέκληκεν, ἐπάγει. Διὸ τὸν μὲν οὐράνιον φησιν οὐ πεπλάσθαι, κατ' εἰκόνα δὲ τετυπῶσθαι θεοῦ· τὸ δὲ γήϊνον πλάσμα, ἀλλ' οὐ γέννημα εἶναι τοῦ τεχνίτου. Ἄνθρωπον δὲ τὸν ἐκ γῆς λογιστέον εἶναι νοῦν εἰσκρινόμενον σώματι, οὕτω δὲ εἰσκεκριμένον. Ὁ δὲ νοῦς οὗτος γεώδης ἐστὶ τῷ ὄντι καὶ φθαρτός, εἰ μὴ ὁ θεὸς ἐνέπνευσεν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἀληθινῆς ζωῆς. Τότε γὰρ „γίνεται“ καὶ οὐκέτι πλάττεται εἰς ψυχὴν, οὐκ ἀργὴν καὶ ἀδιατύπωτον, ἀλλ' εἰς νοερὰν καὶ ζῶσαν ὄντως, „Εἰς ψυχὴν γάρ,“ φησὶ, „ζωῆς ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος.“ Ζητήσκει δ' ἂν τις, διὰ τί ἡξίωσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν γηγενῆ καὶ φιλοσώματον νοῦν πνεύματος θείου, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν γεγονότα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ἑαυτοῦ. * * * Πνοὴν δὲ, ἀλλ' οὐ πνεῦμα εἴρηκεν, ὡς διαφορᾶς οὐσης. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πνεῦμα νενόηται κατὰ τὴν ἰσχύον καὶ εὐτοσίαν καὶ δύναμιν· ἡ δὲ πνοὴ ὡς ἂν αὐρὰ τίς ἐστι καὶ ἀναθυμίασις ἡρεμαία καὶ πραγμαία. Ὁ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα γεγονώς καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν νοῦς, πνεύματος ἂν λέγοιτο κεκοινωκέναι. Ῥώμην γὰρ ἔχει ὁ λογισμὸς αὐτοῦ.

‘Ο δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὕλης, τῆς κούφης καὶ ἐλαφροτάτης αἵρας, ὡς ἂν ἀποφορᾶς τινός, ὁποῖαι γίνονται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρωμάτων.—De Allegor. Leg. i. 12, 13.

Now, who can believe that these two commentaries are independent of each other? Upon the same text Philo and St Paul proceed to enlarge, employing, to a considerable extent, the same *most remarkable words**, on a subject not contained in the text at all, nor obviously arising out of it? We may then, I think, affirm with confidence, that we have here no fortuitous or trivial coincidence; but that the Apostle either had the place of Philo in his eye (and this certainly seems the most probable hypothesis), or else that Philo and St Paul drew the phraseology of their commentary from some common origin, such as the allegorical interpretations of Aristobulus, or other Alexandrian Jews, may possibly have been†.

Let us, in the first place, endeavour to discover the meaning of Philo, as a preliminary to the full understanding of the Apostle. However true it may be that some Rabbinic writers have designated the Messiah as the Second Adam, and that St Paul had their phraseology in his eye as well as that of Philo, both here and elsewhere (Rom. v. 14), yet our philosopher was thinking of a very different matter in his above-cited interpretation of the Mosaic cosmogony.

Philo had observed that Moses twice describes the Creation of the world, once in the first chapter of Genesis, and again in the second chapter. He explained this fact, in a Platonic fashion, by supposing that the first chapter contained an account of the ideal or suprasensual world, the νοητὸς κόσμος, which God created by his Word (Λόγος), as by an instrument. In fact, the ideal world is itself regarded by him as identical with the Word of God, the idea of ideas. His Heavenly Man then is the archetypal man, incorporeal, unsexual, immortal, the ideal denizen of the ideal world, of whom the Earthy Man or Protoplast, the

* The omission of the words ὁ Κύριος in v. 47, which are now regarded as spurious by most editors, makes the allusion to Philo more direct and pointed.

† The distinction which Philo here makes, occurs again in his works several times, e.g. Alleg. Leg. i. 16, 28, 29, 30; ii. 2; iii. 31. Opif. Mund. c. 46. Plant. Noe. c. 11. Quæst. in Genes. c. 4, 8.

Some of these passages will be employed in the course of the argument. They appear to have received less attention from the commentators on the New Testament than they deserve, though some among them, as Grotius, Loesner, and especially Whitby, have not entirely overlooked them.

Adam whose creation is described in the second chapter of Genesis, is only the antitype and ignoble representation. The Heavenly Man abounded with the divine Spirit, God gave not "the Spirit by measure unto him," (to use the Pauline expression, which contains in all probability an allusion to Philo); but the Earthy Man, created with a mortal body, had only a faint breath of the immortalizing and vivifying Spirit, the addition of which constituted him a living soul.

This will be better understood from Philo's own words, which, as the subject is somewhat difficult, we shall make no apology for quoting at length.

Ἑρμηνεύεται οὖν Βεσελεύλ, ἐν σκιᾷ ὁ θεός. Σκιὰ θεοῦ δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ὃ καθάπερ ὄργανον προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποιεῖ. Αὕτη δὲ ἡ σκιά καὶ τὸ ὥσαντι ἀπεικόνισμα ἐτέρων ἐστὶν ἀρχέτυπον. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς παράδειγμα τῆς εἰκόνος, ἣν σκιὰν νυνὶ κέκληκεν, οὕτως ἡ εἰκὼν ἄλλων γίνεται παράδειγμα, ὥς καὶ ἐναρχόμενος τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐδήλωσεν, εἰπὼν, „Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ," ὥς τῆς μὲν εἰκόνος κατὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀπεικονισθείσης, τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα, λαβοῦσαν δύναμιν παραδείγματος.—Leg. Alleg. III. 31.

Elsewhere he distinctly defines the Λόγος as the totality of ideas, or idea of ideas:

Εἰ δέ τις ἐθελήσειε γυμνοτέροις χρήσασθαι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἕτερον εἴποι τὸν νοητὸν εἶναι κόσμον, ἢ θεοῦ λόγον ἤδη κοσμοποιούντος. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ νοητὴ πόλις ἕτερόν τι ἐστίν, ἢ ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος λογισμὸς, ἥδη τὴν αἰσθητὴν πόλιν τῇ νοητῇ κτίσειν διανοουμένου. Μωϋσέως ἐστὶ τὸδε δόγμα τοῦτο, οὐκ ἰμόν. Τὴν γοῦν ἀνθρώπου γένεσιν ἀναγράφων, ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα ὁμολογεῖ διαῤῥήδην, ὥς ἅρα κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ διετυπώθη. Εἰ δὲ τὸ μέρος εἰκὼν εἰκόνος, δηλονότι καὶ τὸ ὅλον εἶδος, ὁ σύμπας αἰσθητὸς οὐτοσὶ κόσμος, ὃ μείζον ἐστὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης μίμημα θείας εἰκόνος. Δῆλον δὲ, ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἀρχέτυπος σφραγίς, ὃν φαμεν εἶναι κόσμον νοητὸν, αὐτὸς ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀρχέτυπον παράδειγμα, ἰδέα τῶν ἰδεῶν, ὁ θεοῦ λόγος.—Mund. Opif. c. 6.

Consistently with this view he describes the Heavenly Man as being anterior to the Earthy Man:

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτά φησιν, ὅτι „Ἐπλασεν ὁ θεὸς ἄνθρωπον, χοῦν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς.“ Ἐναργέστατα καὶ διὰ τούτου παρίστησιν, ὅτι διαφορὰ παμμεγέθης ἐστὶ τοῦ τε νῦν πλασθέντος ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγονότος πρότερον. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαπλασθεὶς ἤδη, αἰσθητὸς, μετέχων ποιότητος, ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς συνεστὼς, ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνή, φύσει θνητὸς ὢν ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα, ἰδέα τις, ἢ γένος, ἢ σφραγίς, νοητὸς, ἀσώματος, οὐτ' ἄρῃν οὔτε θῆλυς, ἀφθαρτος φύσει. Τοῦ δὲ αἰσθητοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ μέρους ἀνθρώπου τὴν κατασκευὴν σύνθετον εἶναι φησιν ἐκ γεώδους οὐσίας καὶ πνεύματος θείου, γεγενῆσθαι γὰρ τὸ μὲν σῶμα, χοῦν τοῦ τεχνίτου λαβόντος, καὶ μορφὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐξ αὐτοῦ διαπλάσαντος, τὴν δὲ

ψυχὴν ἀπ' οὐδενὸς γενητοῦ τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἡγεμόνος τῶν πάντων. Τὸ γὰρ „ἐνεφύσησεν“ οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον, ἢ πνεῦμα θεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ εὐδαίμονος ἐκείνης φύσεως, ἀποκίαν τὴν ἐνθάδε στειλάμενον, ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, ἵνα, εἰ καὶ θνητὸς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁρατὴν μερίδα, κατὰ γοῦν τὴν ἀόρατον ἀθανατίζεται.—Mund. Opif. c. 46.

This order of production must be borne in mind as being of importance to the right understanding of the apostle*.

Enough has been now said and quoted to make the general meaning of Philo's commentary on Genesis sufficiently obvious. It is time to turn to St Paul's remark on the same verse.

The Earthy Man, the First Man, Adam, of the Apostle, is identical with the Earthy Man in the phraseology of Philo. Both writers appear to have regarded the constitution of the Protoplast in much the same light. Both alike look upon his body as being created *θνητὸν* or *ψυχικόν*. Philo insists on the *natural mortality* of his body, even before the Fall: St Paul, also speaking of him before the Fall, declares his body to have been only adapted to the animal life. The Apostle contrasts this *σῶμα ψυχικόν* with the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* or *πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν* of the Second Man from heaven. In this respect also he substantially agrees with Philo; for he does not at all deny the doctrine which Philo affirms, that Adam's body was vivified by the breath of the Spirit of God, but he only maintains the bodies of Adam and of his posterity to be *unadapted for immortality without a further change*, without such an indwelling of the Spirit as resides in the

* It must be added, however, that Philo is not very consistent with himself in his doctrine respecting the *Λόγος*. Ritter observes of his philosophy generally, "that it is in all its parts devoid of consistency and of coherence in the development of its fundamental positions." (Hist. of Anc. Philos. Vol. iv. p. 451, Engl. Transl.). In nothing is this incoherency more apparent than in his statements respecting the *Λόγος*. In the passages which have been cited the Ideal or Heavenly Man is identified with the *Λόγος*, so far as a part can be identified with the whole, because the *Λόγος* is here declared to be identical with the *νοητὸς κόσμος*. But elsewhere Philo makes the *Λόγος* to be a Divine Person,

distinct from ὁ θεός, but yet himself *θεός*. Commenting on the verse of Genesis, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεός ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ, (xxx. 13), he writes, Τί οὖν χρὴ λέγειν; Ὁ μὲν ἀληθεῖα θεός εἰς ἔστω· οἱ δ' ἐν καταχρήσει λεγόμενοι πλείους. Διὸ καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ἐν τῷ παρόντι τὸν μὲν ἀληθεῖα διὰ τοῦ ἄρθρου μεμήνηκεν, εἰπὼν, „Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεός“ τὸν δ' ἐν καταχρήσει χωρὶς ἄρθρου, φάσκων, „ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τόπῳ,“ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον, „θεοῦ.“ Καλεῖ δὲ θεὸν τὸν πρεσβύτατον αὐτοῦ νυνὶ λόγον. De Somn. I. 39. With reference to this view, (afterwards adopted by the Gnostics), some portions of St John's works are manifestly composed.

body of Jesus Christ, and in those who shall be raised up after his likeness. This is the true Pauline contrast between the *natural* and the *spiritual* body of the two Adams, and of those who bear their image. (See Bull's *State of Man before the Fall*.) Philo in like manner maintains the Heavenly Man alone to have been fully a *partaker of the Spirit*; for the Earthy Man had only a faint communication of it, such as might more properly be called *πρὸς* than *πνεῦμα*.

The Heavenly Man, or Last Adam of St Paul, so far agrees with the Heavenly Man of Philo, that the name expresses, in both writers alike, the perfect pattern and exemplar of humanity. But

Hic locus est partes ubi se via findit in ambas.

Philo's Heavenly Man was nothing else but a Platonic *ἰδέα* existing in the Word or Reason of God, having no individual existence. On the contrary, St Paul's Heavenly Man is he that actually "came down from heaven, even the Son of Man, which is in heaven." Not merely existing in the Divine *Λόγος*, but himself the true Personal *Λόγος*, he became actually an individual man, the pattern and image after which all heavenly men should be moulded.

Bearing in mind the order in which, according to Philo, the Two Men were produced, the Heavenly Man being anterior to the other, it is easy to see why St Paul so earnestly argues that "that was not first which was spiritual, but that which was natural: *afterwards* that which was spiritual*." According to the Judæo-Platonic philosopher, the Heavenly Man, the generic pattern of the earthy race, was *first of all formed*: according to the Doctor of the Gentiles, the Heavenly Man, the individual pattern of the heavenly race, was *not so formed*; and the latter view, upon which the whole of the argument turns, is insisted on for the express purpose of refuting the former.

CHURCHILL BABINGTON.

* Compare Rom. v. 14, where he calls Adam (our first parent) the type of the *future* Adam.

IV.

On the Dating of Ancient History.

THE object of the following paper is to examine the various ways in use of exhibiting the dates of events in ancient history, that is, before the Christian era: and to find out whether, supposing them to be defective, any better way can be found.

It will be convenient in the outset of such an inquiry, to go over very briefly the history of historical reckoning or dating in the practical view of it; that is to say, setting aside chronological *investigation*, or the manner in which chroniclers and chronologers have *discovered* and *rectified* the dates of events, to run through the history of the manner in which, at different times, they have *exhibited* or *represented* them¹.

For chronology, time must first have been *measured*, then have been *marked*, and then have events arranged in their proper places along it. By the *measurement* of time is meant the nature of the months, years, and cycles, in use among any people: by the *marking* of it, is meant the manner in which any one portion of it is distinguished from another similar one, or since years are the ordinary historical units of time, the manner of distinguishing one year from another. A good chronology, or a clear chronological conception, is a distinct notion of events in their proper sequence, referred to, associated with, and as it were framed in, a distinctly marked course of time.

Trustworthy chronology can rest only upon contemporary registering or recording, because tradition, except in very rare cases, gives us no measurement. A register or record implies a previous marking of time more or less distinctly, and is a contemporary referring of something to the time thus marked. The manner of the marking of time may be by a succession of names of individuals, with each of which names a certain portion of time is more or less associated; then the reckoning is called

¹ If we were inclined to assist our thoughts by making new names, this part of chronology might be called *chronognosy*, or *epochology*, the science, that is, of the marking and recognition of

time, as distinguished from the other two parts here alluded to, namely, *chrononomy*, or the distribution and measurement of time, and *synchrony*, or the co-ordination and arrangement of events.

eponymous: and such individuals were the eponymous archons at Athens, the consuls at Rome, the priestesses of Juno at Argos, &c.: or it may be a numeric reckoning of the years: which if it goes continually on from a fixed point of past time is called *epochal*, and the point an *epoch*².

The original home of epochal reckoning as distinguished from eponymous, and from mere numerical reckoning of years of kings, appears to have been in the East rather than in the West. Contemporary annalistic historiography, which in the West, where it existed at all, as perhaps at Rome, associated with aristocratic and priestly families or corporations, took only the form of very dry, curt, and jejune fasti, was akin to the dynastic and despotic spirit of the East, and flourished there. The native character of history in the West was the original or etymologic *ιστορία*, that is chorographic investigation and discursive or antiquarian research, suited to gratify the curiosity of an awakening and inquiring people, who were just beginning to be alive to a wider world: or else it was the epic³ narrative appealing to moral and human sympathies, and gradually, as poetry went off, and civilization came on, developing into pragmatic⁴ history, as Polybius calls it; the point of which is still the human interest attaching to the actions, but an interest now business-like, rational, and speculative, the analyzing of the practical and real way in which affairs are conducted. The East however presents

² I have throughout avoided the use of the word *era*, except in its original signification, as tending to confusion. The Christian era is indeed a natural form of expression, because it may be said to have succeeded to the original one, and was very probably suggested in some measure, to Bede for instance, by it: but it is a pity that the word has taken so very vague and general a use. *Epoch* is the word used by the Græco-Egyptian astronomers to denote the fixed point from which the years of Nabonassar were counted, and we do not want any other word for such points: it seems to have been an astronomical or astrological word, signifying the position of the stars at a given moment.

³ Epic, or subjectual history, may of course have its own way of annalism, or

distinct annual marking of the progress of the subject, such as we see in Thucydides: but this is very different from the Oriental.

⁴ Polybius's *pragmatic history* is simply the history of *affairs*, as distinguished from the descriptive and often poetical character which much history before his time had had. It is what pleases and instructs a man who is *πολιτικός* (Pol. 9. 1.)—we may call it political history. It was not Polybius, but Thucydides, who first used the thing (with some epic admixture); Polybius was only the first to talk about it. On the various confusions and misuse of the word, the reader had better see Sir W. Hamilton's *Discussions on Philosophy*, p. 111, note, and the books there referred to.

us from the first with its centralized despotisms, and corresponding to them with history orderly digested and authoritatively kept⁵, instead of human curiosity and interest: and in the same way, it presents us with the first essays at that science whose roots, from the consecutiveness and length of time which the observations for it require, are likely to have shot forth, unlike its developed growth, best in a soil of permanent institutions and monotonous ideas. I mean astronomy: and from this political and scientific time-keeping of the East has sprung chronology, just as it is the awakened energy of the West which has given history its *life*, and its variety.

The first contemporary marking of time⁶ which, independent of the sacred writings, we know of, is the succession of Babylonian years, called by the Greek astronomers of Egypt years of Nabonassar. That this was a real contemporary reckoning is proved by the record of astronomical observations kept in it, which science proves to have been really made at the time to which they are assigned. The general character of Eastern political reckoning seems to have been sometimes in regnal years, sometimes in years of the dynasty, and sometimes of a previous dynasty, the counting from which, for some reason, had survived; hence each political or dynastial change caused a new epoch, but an epoch not universally used, as often the dating from the older epoch continued concurrently with it⁷. In the Nabonassarean dating, the astronomical observations were recorded in regnal years of Babylonian kings: some have supposed that there was none but regnal reckoning, no dating, that is, from Nabonassar or any one epoch, till the Greek astronomers for convenience sake thought it best to throw the regnal reckonings all into one series. It is more probable however,

⁵ Such were the βασιλικαὶ ἀναγραφαὶ (Diod. 2. 22), and the βασιλικαὶ διφθέραι (Id. 2. 32), from which Ctesias drew his accounts: the chronicles on which Berosus's history purported to be founded and from which Ptolemy's canon must be drawn, the Tyrian annals referred to by Josephus, and the Phœnician histories mentioned by Tatian, &c.

⁶ I am but imperfectly acquainted with what has been made out with regard to earlier Egyptian dynastial reck-

oning, and cannot venture therefore to speak of that.

⁷ It is evident, of course, that all regnal and dynastial reckoning is to a certain degree eponymous, but being necessarily partly numeric, and the name not being associated with a definite interval of time, it is more akin to simple epochal dating, and more likely to lead to it than eponymous dating such as that of Greece and Rome.

that the Nabonassarean was a dynastial reckoning always kept up to a certain degree by the side of the regnal: it became very famous from the astronomical observations in it, and was adopted as a scientific reckoning, in preference to any Egyptian one, and concurrently with the dynastial ones which succeeded, when astronomy changed ground from Babylon to Egypt, and became an elaborate science.

The conquest of the Persian Empire by the Greeks and change of dynasty produced a new dynastial reckoning, the years of which, speaking generally, we may call years of Alexander. They were reckoned differently in the two new Greek kingdoms of Egypt and Syria: in the former they were called years of Philip, from Philip Arrhidæus, Alexander's shortlived successor, and were counted from his accession, that is from the actual death of Alexander: in Syria they were called by various names, the one most familiar to modern ears being years of the Seleucidæ. These were counted from a year some time after Alexander's death^s, it is supposed from Seleucus having in that year conquered Babylon from Antigonus, though he did not declare

^s The reason of this epoch having been fixed where it was is very doubtful: Scaliger thinks it arose from a mistaken reckoning of the death of Alexander, owing to a confusion in the Olympiads, from the counting by some, and neglecting to count by others, of the three anolympiadic Olympiads in the series: but this is very improbable. The astronomical epoch corresponding with it, the years of which were called years of the Chaldæans (for which name no reason seems to have been given), and which was used by the astronomers, concurrently with the years of Nabonassar, for dating their observations, began, for cyclical reasons as Scaliger supposes, a year later.

I cannot however but think that the epoch is a misplaced one of the death of Alexander, and the way in which I should be inclined to account for it is one which I should think must have been suggested before, though it is not alluded to by Norisius. It is simply that the true fact of Alexander's twelve

years' reign from the death of Philip was converted in the imagination of the later Syrian generations, as it was exceedingly likely to be, into a false fact of a twelve years' reign over *them*, beginning with his coming back to Babylon after the complete subjugation of the empire; twelve years from this bring us to the Seleucid epochal year. A confusion again between his coming back and his death the year after, would make the difference between the Seleucid and Chaldean years. Any one, I think, who reads 1 Macc. 1, the model of a *dynastial* account, will have this idea suggested to them. Alexander is said (v. 1) to have reigned instead of *Darius*, after he had smitten him, (not instead of Philip): then it is described how he parted his kingdom among his servants while he was yet alive: "So Alexander reigned twelve years, and then died.... (v. 7). And after his death his servants all put crowns upon themselves".... The years of anarchy are, as was natural, altogether ignored, and Seleucus is sup-

himself an independent sovereign till many years after. The *exact* period however of course chosen to represent the beginning of a dynasty is very much a matter of chance and still more of caprice in the sovereign or in the people.

This latter reckoning became very famous; the former not so much so. In Egypt the Greek elements, though very strong, entered upon a country with a strong and rooted civilization of its own, and with the science of another old and famous country imported into it, for Babylon, for all scientific purposes, moved to Alexandria, and not to Antioch: the Greeks in Egypt used Egyptian months and cycles, and for science Nabonassarean years. But Syria was essentially a new kingdom⁹. The Greeks there wishing to be nearer Europe, soon transferred their headquarters from Babylon to the new-built Antioch: they became to a certain degree settlers rather than conquerors, that is, made things new instead of occupying the old, built new cities, which they were inclined at first to call, in settlers' fashion, by Macedonian names, such as Pella: though soon the Asiatic and dynastic servility began, and the cities took the names of Apamea, Laodicea, Stratonicea¹⁰, from every possible relation of the sovereign. They used the old Macedonian months and years, but very soon began the new practice of marking years not so much eponymously by the reigning sovereign, as epochally from the beginning of the dynasty. Their coins are constantly marked by the number of the year, counted from this epoch: and how the same reckoning was used for contemporary history as well as for the simple current dating, we may see in the books of the Maccabees¹¹, where the years are called years of the kingdom

posed to have immediately succeeded Alexander, founding a new dynasty upon Alexander's gift.

⁹ Alexandria, however, probably kept up its connexion with Athens and Greece more than Antioch did, and *literary* dates there were the same as in Greece, by Athenian archons, Olympiads, &c.: in Syria, though the Grecian element was stronger at first, it seems more to have degenerated from Hellenism, and to have more looked on the time of Alexander as the beginning of things. Still the Seleucid was in its origin a barbarian or Oriental, not a Greek, dating.

¹⁰ The dynastial or timonymous naming of places was another Oriental fashion which, like epochal dating, travelled westwards with the mixture of West and East in the time of Alexander. It bore abundant fruit in Greece, as for instance Demetrias, Cassandreia, &c. Philippi was an anticipation of Alexandria, as the reorganization of the Macedonian kingdom by Philip was an anticipation of the half-military, half-oriental, new royalties in the East. The Roman empire spread it over all the West.

¹¹ The formal commencement of a dynastial epoch may be seen, 1 Macc.

Greeks¹². The reckoning was used long after the origin of Christianity, concurrently with the later forms of reckoning¹³: one famous among the Arabs, where it was called of Dul- (said to mean the two horned), probably in reference to the horned Seraphim¹⁴.

A new dynastial reckoning arose with the conquest of the East by the Romans: but before proceeding farther with Orienting of time, it is better to turn back to the Greeks, and to see how it was marked with them.

In Greece there had been nothing of what gave rise to the modern and continuous dynastial reckoning of the East. Each state had its own particular way of marking, and as was to be expected under such circumstances, the marking was simply epochal: the citizens of Athens knew probably the succession of events by heart, or could in a moment discover any particular event in history, which originally in Greece, as has been said, was rather chorographic, as that of Herodotus for the most part is in detail¹⁵, or epic, embracing short periods of peculiar

character, where it is related how, in the course of the old reckoning, in consequence of the establishment of independence and of new rulers, a new epoch was established, and then, consequently, the two reckonings, the old and the new, are given concurrently. We may include, however, even in this class, that it was set up by authority, and that the practice began of so reckoning together at the time of the epoch cannot tell. In the case of the old reckoning, the uncertainty of the transition might lead one to imagine it was not very soon after the transition irregularly: but new epochs were continually now getting more and more distinct in fashion, and more and more particular. There was an increase of national pride and of the sense of liberty and of despotism, in the midst of them. We may perhaps see, at various times, an illustration of the feeling then of the East and of the epochs, in the different progress of the French and the American revolutions at the end of the last century. Both

began what they considered a new national life, but the wise and more truly free nation never troubled themselves to reorganize their counting of time for that reason.

¹² 1 Macc. i. 10.

¹³ The formal description, by the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, of the date of the previous one of Nice, is by the Roman consuls and the (Syrian) year of Alexander. (Norisius de Ep. Syrom. Diss. 2. c. 1, quoted by Ideler, Handb. der Chron. Vol. i. p. 448). The work of Norisius is full of interesting detail with regard to the Syrian cities.

¹⁴ From the horned head of Alexander on coins, as son of Jupiter Ammon. (Norisius ut sup.) who gives as the Arabic derivation his holding the two horns of the sun, i. e. the East and West.

¹⁵ The history of Herodotus is in its design ostentatiously epic, but it does not much take this character in detail till towards the end. The *δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι* (Herod. Introd.) puts us in mind of *Τίς τ' ἀρ σφῶς θεῶν* &c.

interest, the dating was either a secondary point or else was not difficult: a general idea of the distance of events from his own time is the only scheme of dating belonging to Herodotus, and the careful distinguishing each year of his own war, and referring the proper events to it, is pretty well all the chronology necessary for Thucydides¹⁶. How dates were managed by Ephorus¹⁷ and Theopompus, who probably, all things considered, represented the culminating point of history in Greece, we have no information: we may suppose Ephorus to have employed, as occasion called for them, the various state reckonings; Theopompus's main history¹⁸ was of an epic character, relating at very great length the life of Philip, with many discursive and descriptive episodes: for this, chronology, as for Herodotus, would come in, for the most part, in a secondary manner only.

But when, with the Macedonian conquests in Asia, the horizon of the Greeks became vastly widened, both as to time and space, and the Eastern dynastial reckonings and regularly kept annalistic histories came more before them, and when history itself in the Greek language, past its noon, began a little to take that tendency to chronicle which belongs both to its infancy and its decrepitude, the want of a system of historic dating probably began to be felt¹⁹. Timæus, a native of Tauromenium, but who

¹⁶ For events in former history he uses a backward date from his own time (cf. I. 13.)

¹⁷ The character of the history of Ephorus is contrasted by Polyb. (9. 1.) with the genealogic, and with his own, the pragmatic, and is described as having been *περὶ τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ κρίσεις καὶ συγγενείας*, with more regard therefore probably to variety, than to any strictness as to time. He was a great exaggerator, and not apparently very exact in anything.

¹⁸ His History of Philip. (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* Vol. I. p. lxxv.)

¹⁹ Thucydides and Timæus were both of them prosaists or positivists, as against their predecessors: Timæus finds fault with the rhetorical redundancy of Ephorus, (Müller, *F. H. G.* v. 1, p. 203) much as Thucydides sharply hints at the

ad captandum descriptive redundancy of Herodotus. The cure which each has to administer in his way for the luxuriance is severe annalism and chronology. Thucydides would have heartily subscribed (and I hope nothing here said about epochal over-conscientiousness will lead any one to think I do not subscribe) to one dictum of Timæus, *Τιμαῖος φησὶ μέγιστον ἀμάρτημα περὶ τῶν ιστοριῶν εἶναι τὸ ψεῦδος*. (Müller, *F. H. G.* v. 1, p. 210). Histories may fail, he says, in other respects, and be history still: but if they fail in this, the name does not belong to them. Certainly the idea of history and of its real excellence did not progress between this and the criticisms of Dionysius and Plutarch on Thucydides and Herodotus. Timæus gets however very hard measure as to his narrative powers, compared with those of Thucydides,

passed his literary life, or much of it, at Athens, and wrote a vast history almost of the known world, including his own times, is said to have been the first to supply this defect. For this there were various sorts of reckoning, and various registers not used as reckoning, and only incidentally serving the purpose of marking past time, open to him: the one he chose, probably both for its Panhellenic character, and for the length of time which the record went back, was the register of Olympic games or Olympic foot-race victors, who were the eponyms to distinguish the celebrations. We have no account that the succession of Olympic periods had ever been used to mark time before²⁰, nor was it likely it should be so: it was only incidentally that it did mark it, and the registered number of foot-race victors showed the number of Olympic periods which had passed since the register had been begun²¹.

The beginning of Olympiadic dating, then, was simply the numbering the Olympiads according to the registered victors, and calling the one associated with the earliest preserved name the first Olympiad: and then transferring events from the

from Plutarch (Nicias, 1). Nor, according to Polybius, did he follow his own rule of truth.

²⁰ The mention, in contemporary history, of the celebration of the Olympic games, as a *fact* in a particular year, (generally too with the name of the foot-race, or occasionally pancratiac, victor, by which the Olympiad is identified, and which makes it a regular eponymous dating), occurs for instance in Thucydides (the *numeric* mention of them in Xenophon, as Hell. I. 2, being an admitted interpolation); and such was probably an additional reason to make Timæus use that way of reckoning. What he did, Polybius tells us, was the reducing, by a careful comparison, all the other eponymous Grecian reckonings, to which events had, by those who recorded them, been referred, to Olympiadic, and perhaps to kings of Sparta. Whether, however, it was he who first exhibited the Olympiads numerically, that is, distinguished particular Olympiads by their number, instead

of by the victor in them, does not seem to appear. But the number, for long after him, did not quite thrust out the name: for a very long time the full Grecian dating for past history was, by the number of the Olympiad, the name of the victor, and the archon at Athens, all together.

²¹ The hazard of transferring eponymous reckoning into numeric is, that we never can be certain but that in some year some extraordinary event may have interrupted the course, and a year or perhaps more have no name to it. There was danger of confusion at least in three Olympiads, which were called *δολυμυριαδες* by the Eleans, in consequence of disputes about the presidency. (See Pausan. 6. 22. 2.) The registers or extraneous history *may* indicate this, and where it is known there is no harm: but of course in early times they also may not. And even if it is known, it is possible that the reckoning, as a general one, may become confused through people not thinking of it.

various particular reckonings to this general one, and referring contemporary events to that. The succession of earlier Olympiads is in no sense established to have been a contemporary reckoning, like the years of Nabonassar, nor is the first Olympiad necessarily anything more than a fixed point to date from, assumed long after: it is perfectly possible that the Olympic registers which Hippias, and afterwards Timæus and Eratosthenes, collected, may have been for the earlier parts of them all a forgery, and it is of very little consequence to chronology whether they were or not, for no early events of any importance were contemporaneously assigned to them²²: they would have made as good a way of dating for Timæus if he had invented them himself, except that the opinion of their genuineness was necessary for the current adoption of the way of dating by them. Nor is it very certain whether the first Olympiad represents any historical event, such as the establishment or restoration of the games, or whether Corcebus was merely the earliest victor's name preserved: for chronology, the matter is of no consequence²³.

Eratosthenes, as has been mentioned, improved and rectified the Olympiadic dating of Timæus, and it became the regular recognized literary reckoning for Greeks in all parts of the world, and continued so for many centuries. But the current reckonings in Greece were still kept in the old individual and eponymous ways, while for Greeks away from Greece, as at Alexandria, who would date histories in Olympiads, the current

²² It is but seldom that, as in the case of Pheidon, (Ol. 8) Olympiac history is connected with general.

²³ There is probably very little doubt but that the registers are genuine, but when we attempt to connect with the beginning of them any fact of greater historic importance than that Corcebus was the victor, what difficulties we fall into may be seen in Clinton, F. H. I. 142. The Greeks in a general way considered the 1st Olympiad, or that of Corcebus, to represent what they called the re-establishment of the games by Iphitus, but as a matter of accurate chronology, Iphitus is a person whom

neither they nor the moderns have been able to lay hold of and fix; and Clinton has been obliged to resort to the last expedient of chronologers, that of doubling him. Happily, however, the registral epoch of Corcebus was independent of Iphitus, though otherwise most unimportant; but in reality it was just its own unimportance, and its association at the same time with what was important, that gave it its value. Scaliger, whose feelings are hurt by the Christian era resting on a misdate, lays a trap for himself by needlessly calling the Olympiads Olympiades Iphiteæ. (See for inst. *De Em. Temp.* 5. 383.)

dating would be according to some other reckoning such as those already alluded to.

Eratosthenes however chronologized far back before the first Olympiad, and fixed various epochs to date pre-Olympiadic events from. One famous one was that of the Trojan war: and it certainly is rather a pity, while epochs were being fixed, that this was not taken for a fixed point for annual Grecian dating, instead of the first Olympiad for Olympiadic²⁴. As was before observed about the first Olympiad, it is no sort of consequence what the fixed point is suggested by or represents, or whether it represents anything, except that it must be *supposed* to represent something much in men's thoughts and of general interest; the Trojan war would have exactly suited for this. And the advantage of dating from it would have been, that according to Roman ideas of early history, it would have answered as well for Roman dating as for Greek²⁵. The Trojan war was the starting-point of Roman traditional history, more even than of Greek; Cato, in computing the foundation of the city, found and represented it to be so many years *ὑστεροῦσαν τῶν Ἰλιακῶν*²⁶: his countrymen might have contented themselves with the Trojan epoch, which they thus used; for the date of the Roman they found very hard to settle.

Timæus may be called in some sense the originator of Roman, as well as of Greek, epochal dating: for it was he who apparently, to the best of Dionysius' knowledge, first fixed the time of the foundation of the city, and synchronizing it as he did with that of Carthage, in a year not long before the beginning of the Olympiads, he probably considered the common epoch of the two cities as the beginning of a supposed Western Period, like his Grecian Olympiadic. The Romans however afterwards reckoned the origin of their city much later, though they could not fix it

²⁴ There is strong reason against such an epoch as this in the fact, that though Eratosthenes' fixing of the time was the one generally allowed, yet still there were others, and especially Herodotus considered it earlier (See Grote, H. G. II. p. 76, 77.) But in the mythical character of the epoch there is no reason against it, for the foundation of Rome by Romulus is quite as mythical, and both Greeks and Romans believed

quite as much in the reality of the Trojan war as the Romans in that of Romulus.

²⁵ Niebuhr says (H. R. I. p. 259), "*For Greece* the method devised by Eratosthenes, of reckoning from the fall of Troy to indicate relative dates, was a happy thought." He might have said more.

²⁶ Dion. A. R. I. 74, and Nieb. H. R. I. 267.

exactly: one date, that of Varro, was the most popular, and the most generally received; and this, still in some respects it would appear in imitation of the Olympiads, became, for writers in the later years of Rome, in some degree, though never much, a systematic epochal reckoning.

But in all ages of Rome, from the first consular times till the last imperial days, the eponymous reckoning by consuls, was the regular one, both for literature and civil or current dating, and the dating by years of the city took but very slight hold. This latter was probably, as has been said, suggested by the Olympiads, and was used concurrently with them by writers of the Græco-Roman period, who wrote for the whole world, such as Pliny; and much trouble then would have been saved if Greeks and Romans had had a common, instead of only a cognate, epoch. But however much the conquest of the East brought Orontes to Tiber, and ruined old Rome, and grafted an Eastern despotism on Roman names and institutions, as it had done before on Macedonian, yet the great name of the city of Rome, and of Roman magistrates, never lost its honour; and the Romans kept on their eponymous city reckoning without its being superseded by years of the emperors or years of any epoch, till consuls came quite to an end²⁷.

We are now arrived, by way of the West, at the same point which we had before reached by way of the East; the establishment of the Roman dominion over the world, which finished the bringing of the East and West together, and made civilization one.

The opening of the Roman rule²⁸ in Syria and Egypt was accompanied with the usual change of dynastial reckoning, which has been spoken of before, and the new reckoning obtained

²⁷ On the later periods and end of the consulship, see Gibbon, D. and F. c. 17, towards the beginning, and c. 40, end.

²⁸ The Roman conquest of Syria was declared and considered to be an establishment of *atrovopula* in the cities as distinguished from their previous state of servitude, and various epochs of *atrovopula*, according to the time at which they came under the Romans, were marked and kept in different cities.

Hence arose in Asia as great a variety of city epochs, or of particular numeric dating, as there has been in free Greece of eponymous. See on this (quoted by Norisius, Ep. S. M. preface) the order of Justinian that the Roman date of the Consul and Indiction should always precede the particular city date: and the extract from Euseb. Chron. where he dates one year by the different epochs of five different cities: Antioch, Tyre, Laodicea, Edessa, and Ascalon.

the name in the one case of years of Antioch²⁹, in the other of years of Actium or of Augustus. But the political Romanization of the world was accompanied by an event, which, in matters of time, was of far more consequence than any change of dynasty. This was the commencement of measuring time by Julian years.

The years of Italy and of Greece had consisted of lunar months, which by various devices and cycles of omission and intercalation had been kept correspondent with the seasons, and made to compose, in a rough way, solar, or if we like to call them so, luni-solar years³⁰. This of course had required a complicated calendarian reckoning, which had been treated scientifically by the Greeks, and managed tolerably well; but having been made a matter of aristocratical and priestly privilege at Rome, had gone there all wrong, so that the years were out of their place as to the seasons, and all in confusion. In Egypt the years were simply solar, and the months divisions of the year³¹: but since the year was reckoned of 365 days only, and no intercalation was used, the neglected quarter of a day accumulated and made the year move round through the seasons, till, in the famous Egyptian period of 1461 years each point in it moved through them all and came back to its previous position again³²; Cæsar's reform, directed by Sosigenes, an astronomer of Alexandria, was to fix the Egyptian solar year as he thought he would do by intercalating a day every four years to make up for the neglected quarter, and then to introduce it at Rome instead of the year of lunar months, with its complicated intercalations. This reform, in which the imperial dominion of the West was

²⁹ There was a wavering in these years of Antioch, as to reckoning them from the battle of Actium, or apparently from the presence of Julius Cæsar at Antioch, 17 years before. The usual confusion about dynastial epochs was perhaps involved with that from the change of year.

³⁰ It is difficult to use correct language in this matter, for properly all months belong to the moon, and years to the sun, but these two luminaries, chrononomically, get on very badly together, and the business of keeping them in harmony gives full employment to

the science of cyclology, or calendar making. By a simple solar year is meant here a year of months in which there is no longer any consideration of the revolutions of the moon, as a simple lunar year would be one, like the modern Arab one, in which there was none of those of the sun: in either case one of the luminaries has turned out the other.

³¹ That is 12 months of 30 days, and 5 pagomen, or *ἐπαγόμεναι* days, to which for the fixing of the year, the quadriennial 6th was afterwards added.

³² 1461 Egyptian years being only 1460 solar revolutions.

used to give effect to the science of the East, is one of the noblest and best results of the Roman empire.

The effect of the reformed annual measurement was different in different parts of the world. In Egypt the months, retaining their old names and natures, only became fixed by the quadriennial intercalation of a day at the end of the year³³, (as far, that is, as the Julian year was fixed). In Greece a great confusion arose between the Julian reckoning and the old; and the Attic lunar months, for instance, gradually went out of use, after having passed through a period in which their names were used very irregularly, sometimes out of their order³⁴, and sometimes to represent months similar to the Roman, or our present ones. But in the countries which were but imperfectly civilized at the time of the Roman conquest, such for instance as Spain, there is reason to believe that the introduction of the Julian year was the first beginning of an effective reckoning of time at all: and that it became an epoch, from which the series of years thus measured was counted. Such is Voss's³⁵ view of the origin of the famous Spanish reckoning of time in which the years were called 'era 1,' 'era 2,' 'era 50,' &c.³⁶, and from which our word 'era,' now, to the confusion of thought, used so generally, has been derived. If it is really a Hispano-Roman reckoning, this is a more probable account of its origin than the supposition of its being, like the reckonings in the East, a dynastial reckoning from the establishment of the Roman empire: for there seems no reason why there alone in the West such a reckoning should arise³⁷. In the opinion of some, however, it is not a Roman

³³ As to how early, or how effectually this was done, see Clinton, F. H. Vol. II. p. 328.

³⁴ The relative precedency of Mæmacterion and Pyanepsion seems even yet hardly to be fixed. See Clinton, *ubi sup.*

³⁵ Etymol. L. L. ad v. (referred to by Ideler, *ubi inf.*)

³⁶ It is hardly correct in Niebuhr (H. R. I. p. 258) to describe this as "the Spanish era from the battle of Actium." Its epoch was in B.C. 38, seven years before it. There is a quotation in Dugange marking it as 28 B.C., but this

is probably from a different date of the Nativity.

³⁷ Unless we can suppose the previous Orientalization of Spain by way of Africa, to have had any thing to do with it. Ideler, who collects (*Handb. der Chron.* II. p. 426), the various derivations of the word which have been proposed, seems to have a strong hankering after the Arabic one, only that the use of the word long before the Arabian occupation of Spain excludes it. If the derivation is really in itself probable, it is to be remembered, that the Carthaginian conquest of Spain was a previous

but a Gothic reckoning, and did not exist in Spain before it was possessed by the Goths: and *era* is only the word *year*. Be this as it may, it was employed very extensively and most usefully in Spain and the South of France for many centuries, beginning so far as we know with the 6th A. D., both for current and literary dating; and Isidore, who dated by it a chronicle, and published besides an elaborate book of *Origines* or *Etymologies*, explained the word '*era*' to be Latin, meaning *taxing*, and deduced the epoch from some great survey and change of arrangement at the time of its commencement: whether this was the introduction of the Julian reckoning or not we cannot say.

Nearly simultaneous with the general establishment of the Roman dominion occurred the great event of the history of our globe, the origin of Christianity.

This had a tendency to cause new systems of dating in three ways.

The first was owing to the general interest which through it began to be taken in the chronology and history of the Hebrew Scriptures, which had now flowed, by means of the Septuagint, into the general current of Greek literature⁸⁸. The far reach backward and elaborate chronological detail of the Hebrew history both made a great impression on men's imaginations, and also were of singular value to the Christians in their general line of argument then against Paganism, in which they endeavoured to shew that all that there was excellent in the Greek philosophy, which their opponents set against the Scriptures, had flowed in some way or other from the writers of the Scrip-

Moorish occupation 1000 years before the modern one, and that we have no reason to suppose the languages to have been radically different. The era or reckoning might have been either a date of Carthage itself or a date of the conquest by it, and of the organization and settling of tribute then: such a reckoning might easily change, at a reorganization and new settlement under Augustus, into a dynastial dating bearing the same general name. Isidore may have been right as to the word meaning settlement or taxation, though wrong in the way he made it mean so. If the

reckoning is to be supposed a Gothic one, it is almost worth considering whether it may not be a mistaken date from the beginning of Christianity, or the Incarnation, and the *taxing* mean the famous survey with which that is associated. Some reckonings of the birth of Christ carried it nearly as far back. No satisfactory *Gothic* reason can be given for it.

⁸⁸ This interest was not connected in its origin with Christianity, though Christianity greatly increased it. Josephus led the way which Julius Africanus, Eusebius, and others, followed.

tures themselves. As Eratosthenes therefore had done for the earlier traditional events of Greek history, Eusebius and the Christian chronologers tried to fix the epochs of the recorded Scripture events, the Exodus, the birth of Abraham, the creation of the world³⁹, &c. Any one of these would have made a good epoch for dating from, if it could but have come into general use: but unhappily, there was so much difference between the chronological numbers in the Hebrew, the Samaritan and the Septuagint accounts, as well as so much difficulty in the chronology itself, that no uniform epoch or dating could be established⁴⁰.

The second way in which Christianity tended to produce new dating was in the revival, after for a time the Julian year-measurement had superseded the necessity for them, of the calendarian or cyclical arrangements with all the trouble consequent on them, owing to the adoption of the Jewish or lunar reckoning for the fixing of the great Christian festival of Easter. The parts of Meton and Calippus had to be acted again by Christian Fathers, as we shall shortly see, and elaborate Paschal Cycles or Calendars were framed, and much used through the middle ages, for a way both of current and literary dating the most cumbrous of all, which may be called Calendar dating⁴¹, particularizing the year, that is, by its cyclical incidents, so that on looking at the Calendar, what year it was might be found. To this we shall have to return.

The last way in which Christianity tended to new dating was

³⁹ Eusebius's epoch of Abraham, whom he made contemporary with Semiramis, would have been an admirable starting-point to count history from, if any body had luckily set it on foot as such, which, considering the vast influence and popularity of Eusebius's chronicle, might very well have been done. It would have set off sacred and profane history together, as the Trojan war Greek and Roman, leaving very little to be pre-epochally marked. Eusebius (and Jerome his interpreter) seems to have no idea of marking time backwards in detail, like our present retrograde dating. He mounts by a few vigorous leaps, as well as he can, up the stream of

time to an epoch, and then particularizes events as he leisurely descends.

⁴⁰ One mundane era however, called by Gibbon (c. 40 note, end,) that of Julius Africanus, but shewn by Ideler to be slightly different from it, reckoning the creation at 5508 B. C. is still or has been till lately, the reckoning in use among the Greeks. It began to prevail in the 7th century, and appears in the Paschal Chronicle.

⁴¹ Calendar or cyclical dating seems never to have been used in the ancient times except for the recording of astronomical observations, for which it was fitted.

through the consideration of the age of Christianity itself coming to occupy the minds of men. Many things made it do this. It began, as the *Civitas Dei*, in some measure to fill the place in men's thoughts which the greatness of Rome itself had filled, now that Rome was plainly coming to an end: on the other hand, its opponents had various prophecies of Sibyls, &c. to the effect that the duration of Christianity should be for a certain fixed time only, and then it should perish. The age of Christianity was at that time generally reckoned from the death of Christ, or from his ascension, which were considered its origin, and became as such to a certain degree, epochs for historic dating, especially in the East: but they do not seem ever to have come into any very general use.

Still however, independent of Christianity, the course of new dynastial epochs went on, and one such established itself in Egypt from the accession of Diocletian⁴², which had very much the character of a reorganization of the Empire on a new basis after a succession of short anarchic reigns: the new basis having little to do with Rome. Not long after, a new and more extraordinary way of dating began in general through the Roman Empire, which may be called in general a new dynastial reckoning, though different from any previous: the dating by years of the Indiction. This was particularizing any year to be marked by its place in a cycle of 15, which cycle, having begun at a given year, was continually repeated: the cycles were not counted, in which case the reckoning would have been a sort of Christian Olympiads, but only the place of the year in its cycle, so that the reckoning was of no use, except concurrently with others, as one note of the year out of many. It was used, together with calendarian and other notes of the years, very largely for a long time: it is supposed to have been originally a civil period, the interval of surveys for taxation: and since it took its rise in the time of Constantine, it may be supposed a peculiar form of dynastial reckoning connected with that same reorganization, so to call it, of the empire, which we have already noticed⁴³.

In the last struggles then of the old empire and society, a

⁴² On the nature of this epoch, and whether it was a Christian or general one, see Scal. de Em. Temp. 494 &c.

and Ideler, *H. der Chr.* i. 161 and 2. 232.

⁴³ Rome keeps up one memorial of

great variety of reckonings were in use: we have now to see what sort of reckoning established itself, as a new society, formed from barbarianism, took the place of the old.

The calendarian or cyclical investigations which have been spoken of, were what then brought the course of years before people most prominently. At the council of Nice, the charge of taking care of the Easter cycles had been committed to the bishops of Alexandria, as the special abode of astronomy and science: but the jealousies at this time rife between the East and the West, caused a continual disputing about them. In many of the years in the 5th century A.D., Easter was celebrated on a different day at Rome and at Alexandria. Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, constructed a cycle or calendar of 95 years (5×19) for the determination of Easter, and made this cycle to begin in what he called the 152d year of Diocletian, according to the then Alexandrian reckoning: at Rome however, his calendar was not admitted. But in the year 525 A.D., when Cyril's cycle was nearly run out, Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman abbot, made an effort to reconcile, as to the Calendar, the East and West, and to procure the admission of Cyril's cycle, with some modifications, during its second repetition, at Rome. In republishing the Cycle for this purpose, he altered the way of marking the years of it from the years of Diocletian, which was an Egyptian reckoning not usual or understood at Rome, and one moreover, as he himself mentions, likely to be most ungrateful for a Christian calendar on account of the odious memory of that persecutor: and the way of reckoning which he adopted instead of it, was from the epoch, as he fixed it, of the Incarnation or Birth of our Blessed Lord. The reasons why he chose the Incarnation, rather than the Death or Resurrection of our Lord to count from (considering that the origin of Christianity was at that time associated rather with these last), were, there can be but little doubt, cyclical, as well as the occasion on which he thus first used the epoch; but the discussion of them, though most interesting, is too long for this place. He designated then the year in which the Cyrillian cycle was to begin its second repetition as the year 532 after the Incarnation

its old empire in this reckoning, which is still in use in the Papal Court. (See Gibbon, Dec. and Fall, c. 17, near the end).

of our Lord: and hence he has always been called the originator of our way of dating, though it does not appear that he contemplated any literary or historical use of it.

The real difficulty of choosing a fixed point to date from in times in any degree early or distant lies in this, that it is necessary in order to its adoption, that it should be a point of general interest, and therefore probably of historical importance: and if it is this, so as to be worth historical accuracy about, its own date is likely to be very much disputed. In this lay the advantage of Timæus's choosing as he did, namely, that no great historical event was concerned with the first Olympiad; and the disadvantage of Dionysius's, that the event which he chose as his epoch is one the exact time of which, within a limited period of years, was in his time and has been since itself much disputed. It was this which was for a long time the great hindrance to the adoption of the Dionysian epoch in the more central parts of Christendom, even after it had, as we shall see, come into considerable use in the remote parts, where the new and therefore less critical and careful society was more predominant. Scaliger, at what we may call the revival of chronology, expresses indignation at Dionysius, and wishes to change the whole system even of modern reckoning⁴⁴.

This epochal realism⁴⁵ is surely most unreasonable. An epoch for dating is a fixed point of time, associated with some event of general interest, from which it takes its name and which makes it known and gives it currency: but the fixing of the epoch and the finding it depends upon the use of it, and not the least upon the event which first suggested it and which remains merely as a name. The signature A. D. means *now* so many years and

⁴⁴ I should myself be disposed to rank Dionysius, in so far as it is to be considered he who through various accidents and chances, has supplied us at last with an almost universally recognized epoch, as one of the greatest benefactors which the human race and its history have had. Scaliger looks upon him as an arch-deceiver: "*pessime de posteritate meritis est, cui persuaserit annos Christi uno minus putare, quam omnes, qui ante eum scripserant, sen-*

sissent." At present the birth of Christ is usually understood to have taken place 4 years, by Ideler 6, before our epoch. But the shaking loose of the fact from the conventional epoch is the best way to the determination of the truth about the fact, if we are anxious for that.

⁴⁵ The best way to satisfy it would be to consider the signature A. D. to represent, as perhaps it does, *Anno Dionysiano* instead of *Anno Domini*.

months distant from a point of time which is distant from *us* 1853 complete years and a few weeks; we call that point the epoch of the birth of Christ because 'Dionysius considered it to be such, and it must have a name of some sort: and the actual birth of Christ, whenever it did occur, say four years before, is at least so near that no practical error of thought can arise from the name. It is very unlikely that in any case epochs, unless they are dynastial epochs adopted contemporaneously for current dating, *should* represent the proper time of an event as they profess to do. A historical epoch is assumed for the purpose of building upon it a system of chronology, and then this system is almost sure to fix the time of the event which suggested the epoch, more accurately than it was known when the epoch was assumed: epochs, historically, are only a convenient assumption, representing in common language a great event, and in accurate language a fixed point of time somewhere near it, from which years are counted.

The associating by Dionysius of the epoch of the Incarnation with his Paschal cycle was likely to make it generally known, because that cycle came into general use: but the first person who made it a historical epoch was a countryman of our own, Bede.

In the Northern parts of the old Roman empire there was no regular reckoning such as the *era* above mentioned furnished to Spain and the South of France. Bede for his history had to adopt one: he might have introduced the era, which must have been known to him and of which he perhaps saw the convenience in Isidore, into the North, or he might have adopted some Christian reckoning, such as were in use at Constantinople in his time and the century before, from the Resurrection or Ascension. But he was a calendarian philosopher as well as a historian, and well acquainted therefore with the Dionysian reckoning, and this was the epoch he chose to adopt. After him it became by degrees widely spread both for current and historic dating, *last* of all however, as has been said, at Rome: the era gave place to it, and then the complicated calendarian dating of the middle ages, till finally the present simple plan became universal.

On the adoption however of this way of dating there came

the question, how the times before the epoch of our Lord's Incarnation were to be chronologically exhibited. There were three ways of doing it.

The first and most natural, was to adopt some sort of mundane epoch, or year of the world, and this is what the mediæval chroniclers did, and chronological tables, till about the middle of the 17th century, exhibited this. But there was the same difficulty again that there had been in the earlier times of Christianity: the chronology was so difficult and uncertain, that no generally recognized epoch could be adopted.

About the 16th century began the plan of counting backwards from the year of the birth of Christ, and representing the earlier history so. This may be considered the common way now, and is what most chronologers and calculators best approve of.

With the idea however of making the dates more classical and the history more apparently real, several modern investigators of ancient history have preferred dating by the ancient epochs, Olympiads for instance, and years of Rome: Niebuhr is a strong partisan of the adoption of different epochs, according to the country whose history is being written.

There should be mentioned here also the only attempt I believe which has been made of the kind, that by Scaliger, to introduce a general mathematically determined period which should include and serve as a frame for all history; for this purpose he calculated what he called the Julian period, and recommended the conversion of all dates into it⁴⁶.

Let us now examine a little the advantage and disadvantages of these various methods.

First of all, since every historical epoch is an insecure assumption, only fixed by the use of it, and always liable to have its apparent foundations shaken by more accurate chronological knowledge, it is highly desirable that there should be but *one* of them, and that we should abstain from assuming others, or at

⁴⁶ It is the Victorian or great Paschal cycle of 532 years multiplied into the number of years in the Indiction (15), and the period made to begin, for chrononomical reasons beyond our present consideration, in the year 4713 B.C. (Scal. de Em. Temp. 359). It is hard to

see that there is any *historical* advantage in it, other than distinctness, for it is as conventional as the most misnamed historical epoch, the Indiction being a mere civil arbitrary arrangement: but it has been in extensive use among the earlier scientific chronologers.

least make them dependent upon that. This applies very much to any dating from a supposed epoch of the creation: besides that it is undesirable to attempt to assume an absolutely *initial* epoch, especially when, as is practically the case, the series of years for so long a time will have no events or very few to be referred to it, and the part where it is wanted and employed will be the part far advanced in it, with uselessly large numbers. But what is the greatest objection to more than one epoch is, that the use of more divides history into separate series or parts, whereas it is a great part of the use of a good chronology to compare and bring it together: time itself is a simple progression, and the measure of time which we apply to history should be, if possible, simple and uniform also.

Much of this applies in the same way to the dating of the history of nations by what we consider their own national epochs, which destroys the simplicity of history, and renders it much more difficult to have such a general and comparative conception of it as shall be fit to deduce laws from, or found any scientific conclusions upon: while at the same time it is quite a delusion to imagine that in this way we are at all making the history more real, or doing in any respect what the Greeks and Romans, for instance, did themselves. Olympiads and years of Rome were both of them, for the greater part of the history of the two countries, ways of reckoning applied to it by chroniclers after it was past and cold, just as we may apply any way of reckoning we please now: if we want to have the living contemporaneous marking of the time we must have well up the lists of archons and consuls, and associate the events with them. We have an idea of a modern century as a sort of real thing, to which we refer any events of history, in whatever country, taking place in it, and which brings them into a sort of relation with each other: any conception of this kind is quite destroyed by the idea of centuries of Rome to which only Roman events are to be referred, while we are to refer Greek to centuries of Olympiads; and the ancient world, which was as much one and a whole as the modern, is divided to us into a number of fragmentary periods, of which themselves in consequence our idea can be but very insufficient.

It was said above that it is undesirable to try to fix an absolutely initial epoch, because we shall either be in danger of

events running beyond it and destroying its initialness, or else we shall probably, before any quantity of events begins, have a long line of useless numbers, while the numbers we have actually to count events in are large and awkward⁴⁷. Supposing then an epoch in the middle of events, how are the pre-epochal years to be marked? The most natural and ready way is by previous epochs, as for instance, the Greeks were disposed to count pre-Olympiad events from the war of Troy: but there is a disadvantage, as has been said, in having more than one independent epoch, if it can be otherwise. Another way is by retrograde reckoning: this was in use to a very limited degree, in regard of ancient epochs⁴⁸; it was in use also, as Mr Clinton in defending it has pointed out, in the form of a reckoning from the time of composition, independent of any epoch, in various chronicles, of which a notable instance is the Parian. But first, this reckoning *μέχρι ἐμὲν*, of the distance of events from ourselves, or of how long ago they happened, which is in fact the natural chronology of unchronological people, is a very different thing from a systematic historical backward dating from an epoch: and next, a list of events unconnected with each other, and only stowed each, as in a museum, in its chronological place, which is what the Parian and such chronicles are, is not a history⁴⁹, and the date of each event is an independent fact, with very little reference to a stream or course. The most remarkable instance of retrograde dating is the history of Velleius Paterculus, in which, considering apparently that consular dating was not

⁴⁷ Gibbon's note (D. and F. c. 40, end), in which he regrets that we do not, like the Greeks at present or till lately, use one uniform mundane epoch to date from, I cordially agree with, both as to his idea of the true value of an epoch, ("The period, however arbitrary, is clear and convenient"), as to his estimate of our present reckoning, ("our double and perplexed method of counting backwards and forwards from the Christian era"); and as to what he says of the advantage of a way of dating which shall help our general mental view of history. But I cannot think it a point to praise in the Greek epoch, that "of the 7296 years supposed to have elapsed since the crea-

tion, we shall find 3000 of ignorance and darkness, and 2000 either fabulous or doubtful," before we can apply the reckoning to *history* at all.

⁴⁸ Orosius, for instance, uses for earlier events a backward dating from the epoch of Rome.

⁴⁹ Besides, it is certainly "*inventis frugibus, glande vesci*" to go back to the Parian chronicle for an example how we should exhibit chronology now. The Parian chronicle, contemporary with Timæus, exhibits even an ante-Timæan reckoning, a dating back from itself, like Herodotus and Thucydides, with an eponymous reckoning by archons of Athens.

sufficient, and for some reason, perhaps because it was very little in use, not dating by years of Rome, he counted each separate date backwards from the consulate of Vinicius, to whom, in the reign of Tiberius, he dedicated his history. The effect is absurd.

Still however, if we have an epoch in the middle of events, and no other epoch independent of it, we must to a certain degree have retrograde dating: the only thing is, we ought not to have it in such a way as to make as it were the actual course of events run backwards, and to go counter to every sub-reckoning which comes in our way and has to be involved in our narration, so that the years for instance of a man's life become more as the date expressing them becomes less, and so for others. Such a way of reckoning, and our present reckoning B.C. is such, is only fit for history written backwards from effect to cause or occasion, as we may well conceive it written, like the house that Jack built; as if we went in the order of shewing how the battle of Chæronea destroyed the supremacy of the Thebans which they had won at the battle of Leuctra, which again destroyed that of the Spartans which they had won at Ægospotamoi, which again destroyed that of the Athenians which they had won at Cænophyta or in consequence of Salamis, and so forth: retrograde dating will do very well for retrogressive history. But if we want history to be a transcript of life and action, and dating to be a help to history and to our conception of it as such a transcript, then, as we talk of the world going on and one event following another, our chronology must move as the events do: or else it is no help, but a horrible clog, to our living conception of them.

An inter-eventual epoch, like the Dionysian epoch of the Incarnation, perfectly arbitrary till fixed by usage, and which then ought to be considered, by all who care for historical convenience, absolutely inviolable, is, it will be said, like the assumed meridian which you reckon longitudes from in geography, supposing one such meridian absolutely fixed by usage, and supposing you could not reckon round to it again: you must count A.D. and B.C. as you count E. and W. longitude. But there is this difference, that there is no reason why you should count longitude Eastwards rather than Westwards, and there is a very great reason why you should count time downwards from a be-

ginning, and not upwards from an end. The epoch is more like noon in the day, which is the fixed point of measurement of time, and in regard to which we speak of the forenoon and the afternoon; but we do not count the forenoon backwards as we count the afternoon forwards; we count the forenoon forwards from an assumed point twelve hours back from the noon, or twelve hours ahead of a previous noon: and nine o'clock in the forenoon does not mean nine hours before noon, but nine hours past out of the twelve before it. A retrograde counting of time is so unlike life and reality, that we cannot possibly use it in practice: we are accustomed to call the Roman reckoning of days in the month the most awkward proceeding that human wit could have devised⁵⁰; surely then, as the whole tendency of history now is to get more lifelike, it is time we should banish from it the continuous retrograde reckoning.

No violent change in the way of reckoning is possible for a historian, nor if possible, would it be desirable: and it is one enormous advantage for history as it is written now, that there is one sort of dating both for literature and for current life, and not, as in Greek history after Timæus, Olympiads for the learned and all sorts of eponyms for the vulgar. Any sort therefore of change of reckoning into a philosophical period, as Scaliger proposed, would be impracticable: modern and current dating could not be reduced to it; and it is of more consequence for history that the dating of ancient history should be like, or in relation to that of modern, than that it should be exhibited in a shape astronomically perfect. But it surely might be possible, with very little change in the dating of ancient history, and only such a change as would make it more harmonize with the dating of modern, to preserve the reference of the dating of pre-Christian history to the epoch we date from, and yet to make the dating run substantially forward, as life and action do: let us see how this might be done.

All that seems necessary is to change what we may call the unit of retrogression. It is now the years we count backwards,

⁵⁰ The Athenian backward reckoning, in which during the last ten days of a month supposed to correspond with the moon, the numbers became smaller as the month went on, if not very reasonable, is at least picturesque, and the

numbers represented, so to call it, the waning moon; but supposing the Roman months to have been once a similar reckoning, it is hard to see any meaning in the retrogression before the Ides.

and the months and days in each year are counted forwards in the natural way in which the people who acted in them counted them: years are therefore the present retrogressive unit. Now the word century for 100 years is a very common word among us, and a most useful and vivid idea, wonderfully helping our historical conception: the word *chiliad* for 1000 years would, now that history rather tends to enlarge its temporal dimensions, and we are endeavouring, for the purpose of finding laws of it and making it a science, to conceive it in large portions, be equally real and useful. And if we made chiliads the retrogressive unit for pre-Christian dating, and counted the years forward in each chiliad, we should have all the advantages which arise from having only one arbitrary independent epoch, and none of the disadvantages which arise from continuous retrograde dating. All the positive ancient chronology which we have at present, independent of the Sacred Writings and of any Assyrian and Egyptian discoveries, would come within the last chiliad, and the dating of it would run straightforward. It is as if we assumed a possible succession of sub-epochs, each of them fixed by being 1000, 2000, &c. complete solar years distant in previous time from the fixed point or epochal night which marks our era, the yesterday of which was Dec. 31, B. C. 1 (retrograde) and the morrow of which was Jan. 1, A. D. 1.

The signature of such a way of dating would not be difficult. I would propose to write the retrograding chiliads in Roman numerals, and the progressive years of the chiliad in common ones: and then to prefix A. C. where we wish fully to mark it: the signature then A. C. I. 500 (for instance) might be supposed to mark either 'Ante Christum I. 500,' or 'Anno Chiliadis Primæ 500.' But supposing any general use of dating such as this, the signature would be commonly no more necessary than it is for dates A. D.: we might talk of the battle of Salamis having been in I. 521, five hundred and twenty-one of the 1st Chiliad, which we should understand to mean the 1st ancient one (retrograde), as easily as of the battle of Pavia having been in 1525, fifteen hundred and twenty-five. The Roman numeral stands before the epoch as a subtracting figure as IX is one less than 10, and IIX 2 less than it: the other numerals mark an addition to the time signified by this.

The advantages of such or some such way of dating are these.

1. Common retrograde dating B. C. is instantly transferred into it by subtracting it (leaving out the thousands, if it is not in the 1st Chiliad), from 1000, and adding one for the current year: prefixing then, if there were no thousands in the old date, the Roman numeral I, if there were, the Roman numeral next above the number of them.

2. It falls in with all other sorts of dating which we have to come across, and helps our conception of them, instead of running counter to them: thus when we know that the 1st Olympiad began in the summer of I. 225, we mentally see the Olympiads running parallel to our reckoning and filling the centuries at the rate of 25 to each, so that each year 25 of a century marks another 25th Olympiad past, I. 625 marks the end of the 100th, and since the reckoning joins on to our era, A. D. 25 the end of the 200th. So for the years of Rome: we see them as it were running on two centuries and a half (we must add 3 years to their number for the Varronian reckoning, or accordingly for the others) behind the chiliadic.

3. It falls in with modern dating⁵¹, (as we have just to a certain degree seen) and brings the whole of history for us as it were into one series: for we see as readily that I. 1000 continues to A. D. I, as we see that A. D. 1000 goes on to A. D. 1001. Nor is there any real practical difficulty in the passing from one ancient chiliad to another, supposing, in the course of historical discovery, we should have much to do that: the chiliads are not so much numbers to us, as great spaces of time before our mental eye, and we should count as readily from II. 1000 to I. 1, as again from 1000 to 1001.

4. It is convertible instantly, if not identical with, any similar scheme of dating, any, that is, in which the first year A. D. is the first of a chiliad, or which is continuous with modern dating. Several such might be imagined: as for instance the calling the year 2000 B. C. (retrograde) the commencement of the Historic Period, (it is very near Eusebius's date of the beginning of detailed history, his epoch of Abraham and Semiramis), and dating

⁵¹ Ancient and modern history would probably both be the better if instead of keeping them so apart as we generally do, we could look at them more in one view, and could, after a better fashion than the rhetorical one which Isocrates

meant, (Paneg. 8), τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ ὡς διελθεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν νεωστὶ γεγενημένων ἀρχαίως εἰπεῖν, and so in Pliny's phrase, (Nat. Hist. Introd.), vetustis novitatem dare, novis auctoritatem.

the two chiliads till the birth of Christ straightforward in that, as we have dated in the two chiliads since: we might then compare the pre-Christian and the post-Christian periods together, and should perhaps find some analogies between them. We shall see a wonderful waking up of life and literature in the 15th and 16th centuries of each, and might put Greek literature alongside of modern ones, and perhaps be helped, by such similarity of chronological view, in judging respectively of them. We should be more conveniently placed for making out how far the Greek literature should be considered a "revival of letters" two chiliads before the modern one, or how far a beginning of literature altogether: whether, in tracing the rude essays of it, we are really come to an infancy of the human race, or whether the heroic ages are but an earlier chivalry and mediævalism, hiding from us another civilization they had ruined.

In concluding this paper, which now at last, however abruptly, must be done, I must ask indulgence from the general reader for the long notes and references, which yet I fear have not been long enough to give him, as I should have wished, ready means of testing the general assertions I have been obliged to make: and from the mathematical reader, for having said so little on the relation of the marking of time to the measuring it. But I have wished to make the paper entirely historical, nor, in fact, am I capable of making it other: and if I have given the reader any clearer notion of the history of past reckoning, or any suggestion which may help or facilitate his historical studies, I am satisfied.

J. G.

Though this paper has been already too long, yet as there are some observations of Niebuhr's (H. R. Vol. 1. p. 258, H. and T.) very interesting, and taking a different view of the matter, a few remarks on them seem required as an appendix.

Niebuhr is a strong polyepochist, and as much opposed as I am to retrograde dating. On the subject of epochal realism or conscientiousness, he is a little either obscure or inconsistent: "for practical purposes nothing more is required," he says, "in an epoch, than that the point it begins at should be fixed relatively: the first year even of our own common era is notoriously misplaced: only such chronological determinateness must not be mistaken for historical certainty." So far good: but when he goes on to define the two things which make an epoch bad, and the three which make it good, we have for the bad characters, first backward

reckoning, and next, "its being necessarily dependent on a supposition ascertained to be utterly wrong." The supposition on which the Christian era depends is utterly wrong: but the observations previously quoted seemed yet to allow it as a good epoch.

This, however, is of little consequence: Niebuhr's characters of a *good* epoch are of more. The first is, its being early enough to comprehend all really historical events in a forward dating: the second, its being applicable to the history of the nations which come under it: the third, its having a reason for it which is permanent. On the first, how far I agree and how far differ, has been said above. The second and the third appear to me to be involved, for current dating, in the adoption of the epoch: whatever epoch is used, is practically applicable: for historical dating, I cannot enter into the idea of this applicability, as distinct from convenience. So far as it has any meaning, it must be, I should think, that we ought to adopt for the exhibiting the history of a people, the current dating which was in use among themselves, by way of making the history more real: this historians generally, to a certain degree, do: but then, as I have said above, this dating is often not even epochal at all, and if it is, surely Mr Clinton's observation (F. H. Vol. III. p. xiii.) is very wise, "But still in addition to those particular eras which belong to the particular subject, some common measure is wanting by which their value can be ascertained and fixed."

Nor are Niebuhr's illustrations of his principle happy: the Spanish era, if it was, as he says, "appropriate only so long as the Western empire lasted," was never, so far as we know, used for historical purposes at all, (even if it was for others) till after its appropriateness had ceased, and the Goths, not the Romans, were masters of Spain: and the giving way of it, for convenience sake, to the general usage of other nations, had nothing in common with the partial superseding of the epoch of Nabonassar by the next following dynastial epoch (in the way described above), to which Niebuhr likens it. The Spanish era, if it was a dynastial reckoning itself, was not superseded by a fresh one, but was supplanted by a rival epoch already in use.

The observation, that "the Olympic era, like Greece, does not survive Alexander, except as an empty name, while the era of Nabonassar, like Babylon, ceases about the same time altogether," is one which, in any view, is hardly worthy of Niebuhr. By the Olympic era he must intend the Olympic games (though even then the assertion has little enough of meaning or truth), for the Olympic era as a fact, that is the reckoning by Olympiads, did not *begin* till after Alexander: and that it was applicable then in every sense in which an historian need care for epochal applicability, we may conclude from the fact that it was generally adopted and long continued. The ceasing altogether of the era of Nabonassar about the time of Alexander the reader may judge of: it being, as has been said, possible, that it was only after Alexander's time that the idea of an epoch of Nabonassar began at all, and certain that for several centuries afterwards astronomical observations were marked in

it. But what stirs one's spirit even against Niebuhr is the dictum that *Greece* does not survive Alexander except as an empty name. During the century and a half after Alexander, as vigorous a political life went on in Greece as had done in the wonderful century and a half before him, and the spirit of free political organization shewed itself as active; Greek literature, past indeed its youthful prime, as our own is, was yet generating at Athens and Alexandria ideas which, filtered unhappily and diluted as most of them have come down to us, yet make a large part of our literary sustenance now. It is a remarkable instance of what comes of fragmentary and particular dating, or rather of the principle upon which it rests, (that of the abstraction of particular portions of history as alone worthy of attention, without regard of their relation to the rest), that Niebuhr, who we may suppose of all in our times had the widest view and strongest grasp of past history, should so quietly, because eloquence in the Pnyx was silent, leave unconsidered the new life which woke in internal Hellas (in Ætolia, the Achæan cities, Arcadia, &c.), as political energy was travelling westwards from the shores of the Ægean sea to those of the Tyrrhenian, as well as all the philosophy at Athens and all the natural science at Alexandria, as something unworthy of Greece, or not belonging to it. It is very proper to close a particular History of Greece with the close of the period during which the political life and the literature were closely associated with each other; because the history of such a period is capable of being exhibited in a manner, both as to interest and instruction, which the history of other periods will not admit of; but if, after the classic period of a nation, its history is to be considered null, we must give up all hopes of ever having history in such a shape as shall enable us to draw from it valuable conclusions, or observe in it laws of human nature.

On the subject of epochs in the Italian towns, the chapter of Scaliger (*De Em. Temp.* p. 385), to which Niebuhr refers, is very amusing, and Niebuhr's treatment of it not a little singular. "The original Roman system," Scaliger says, "was to mark times by the Consuls, and not by the years of the city. But most of the other Italian cities had made out or knew their first year, and dated time from that. The foundation-years of the colonies, and the birth-years of the municipia, being thus known in each part of Italy, it was a matter of shame that the origin of Rome should be so little known, as for Ennius to mistake it by no less than 100 years. Cato, first among the actual Romans, was ashamed of this ignorance and supineness, and so proceeded to calculate the origin of the city correctly."

The induction upon which Scaliger founds his assertion that city epochal reckoning was the rule in Italy before the origin of Rome was satisfactorily reckoned, is the citation of what he considers three instances of such reckoning, the one of the time of Tiberius, the second of the time of Justinian, and the third of the year 105 B. C., from a colonial foundation epoch, 90 years before. This latter, to begin with it first, is a date on a stone, and considering that Puteoli was in a Greek part of Italy, the

practice if it was one, of dating, at that time, from so important a recent event as the reorganization of the city as a colony, is natural enough, and proves nothing as to any old Italian custom. At the time of this inscription, Greece had long been conquered, and Syria was rapidly being so: the Eastern custom of city-dating was very likely by this time becoming fashionable in Italy.

On Scaliger's Ravenna inscription of the time of Justinian, (when Ravenna, as every one knows, was a Greek dependency and a Greek city,) we need not observe, except that it is wonderful what he can have thought it would prove about early customs of Italy. The remaining one is a stone at Interamna, and is, he considers, a congratulatory inscription to Tiberius on the death of Sejanus: it bears the date "anno post Interamnæ conditam 704." There is nothing wonderful or un-Italian in a petty municipality, now that the epoch of Rome was a recognized fact, pompously imitating it, in an honorary and show inscription, with one of their own: and till we have more instances of the practice, that is what I should think this must be believed to be: any how it proves Scaliger nothing as to the early Italian practice which the Romans were so ashamed of neglecting.

Niebuhr repeats Scaliger's general assertion, slightly diluted, apparently as his own independent opinion: "Eras of cities from their foundation were common in Italy:" and then he mentions, referring to Scaliger, in the text the Interamna inscription, and in the note the Puteoli one, this latter in a way which suggests to one that it is an exception, or something peculiar, different from the common rule, and suggests to one therefore also that there is a common rule for it to be different from: it is a curious case of *exceptio probat regulam*, or the giving an idea of a general practice by indicating a special peculiarity in respect of it. No one would think, from seeing the two instances together in Niebuhr, that the rule, (if we set aside the Ravenna inscription, which Niebuhr does not seem to like to mention), has got nothing but them to stand on.

Niebuhr adds from Pliny (N. H. III. 19) that Cato stated, (it is to be supposed in his *Origines*), that the foundation of Ameria took place 964 years before the war with Perses, that is in fact, from his own time. Now one purpose of Cato's book, so far as we know it, was to do for as many cities of Italy as he could, what he has here done for Ameria, that is, state as a fact at what time their foundation took place: Cato was an antiquarian, and calculated perhaps the date of Ameria as he did that of Rome, or perhaps found traditions there fixing in some way its date: but there is a difference between the supposition or establishment of a date as a *fact* and the reckoning from it as an *epoch*, and that "an era from the foundation prevailed at Ameria" is quite an unauthorized conclusion from Cato's statement.

It would be very interesting to make out how far there *was* anything of the nature of genuine epochal city-dating in Italy, and I am very far from imitating Scaliger and Niebuhr, and making a counter general assertion on the other side: but such transference of assertions as we have

here seen, from book to book, and on such slight grounds, is surely a thing to be protested against.

I do not like to end this criticism of Niebuhr without saying, that if he has been too hasty here, it is what happens with him but very seldom. He over-dogmatizes now and then, and is over-receptive sometimes, as above, of others' dogmatism: but general views, if not true themselves, are often the cause of truth in others by shewing the way to it; and no one who cares for the progress of historical knowledge, has any cause to quarrel with a little rather precipitate generalization, provided he is sure there is *some* ground for it, and that he always may be with Niebuhr. The historical student is unworthy of the name who has not the feeling in examining Niebuhr, "*Non mea hæc est voluptas, de quiquiliis triumphare.*"

St Augustine on Distillation.

MANGETUS (Vol. I. p. 22, seq., where is much curious learning on the subject,) Sprengel, and others, have proved from Dioscor. v. 110, compared with Plin. xxxiii. 8, s. 41, § 123, that distillation was not unknown to the ancients. A passage of St Augustine, (De Gen. ad litt. imperf. 14, § 47), which gives not only a more particular description of a still, but also a correct account of the evaporation of the sea, and of the formation of clouds, rain, and springs, has, I believe, escaped notice: "*Nam neque de fontibus et fluminibus dictum est quomodo facta sint. Qui enim scrupulosius ista quærent et disserunt, æthereo superlapsu de mari dulcem invisibiliter dicunt extrahi vaporem, his videlicet ascensionibus quas nullo modo sentire possumus: inde conglobari nubes; atque ita terram imbris madefactam antris occultioribus instillare atque insudare tantum, quantum coactum et per diversos tramites lapsum erumpat in fontes, sive parvos, sive gignendis fluminibus idoneos. Cujus rei documenta esse volunt, quod marinarum aquarum decoctarum vapor sinuato cooperculo exceptus humorem dulcem gustantibus exhibet. Et omnibus fere manifestum est diminutos fontes inopiam sentire pluviarum.*"

J. E. B. MAYOR.

V.

Notes on the Study of the Bible among our Forefathers.

No. I.

Vive Deo fidens, Christi præcepta sequutus,
Sint tibi divitiæ Divinæ dogmata Legis.

Carmen B. COLUMBANI.

THE following notes which have been gleaned from time to time in various quarters are now strung together, with the hope of adding somewhat to the evidence amassed by other hands in illustration of the rise, the progress, and the numerous vicissitudes of sacred learning in our own and in the sister-island.

What were men's ideas of the BIBLE, in the period that elapsed between the planting of the Christian faith and the revival of letters in the fifteenth century? Did they read it? Did they study it? And if they did, with what auxiliaries, and what success? are questions always full of interest, and more especially in such a thoughtful and inquiring age as ours. I purpose, therefore, to produce some data for the solving of these questions, not of course pretending to exhaust them, but desirous of supplying to the general reader a fair specimen of the materials he will find on turning to original authorities.

The present paper will be limited to a brief notice of the early scholars in communion with the Keltic, and especially the Irish Church; the period being that which preceded the invasions of the Northmen: for in truth, as Ireland had no Alfred, those invasions proved almost a death-blow to her scholarship. I hope to touch in some future paper on the service rendered by our Anglo-Saxon worthies, such as Aldhelm, Beda, Alcuin, and the rest, who, as the consequence of their estrangement from at least one section of the Keltic Christians, constitute a separate chain of teachers, and an independent class of witnesses.

Although the Gospel had been widely spread in Britain, and in Ireland also, long before the date most commonly assigned to the mission of St Patrick (432), he must be regarded as the first of either country who is known to have been a student of theology. The narratives respecting him are, it is true, on many

points, most vague, suspicious, and conflicting; but in one particular they all agree, I mean, his diligent pursuit of biblical knowledge. Thus in the *Secunda Vita S. Patricii* (Colgan's *Trias Thaum.* II. 13, Lovan. 1647), c. xxii., we read that he visited Germanus of Auxerre, "apud quem non parvo tempore demoratus, ut Paulus ad pedes Gamalielis, in omni subiectione et obedientia, sapientiæ studium et *Scripturarum notitiam sanctarum ferventi animo didicit*:" cf. *Sexta Vita* (*Ibid.* p. 67). The *Gesta S. Germani* (*Ibid.* II. 244) confirm the previous statement: "non mediocrem e tanti vena fontis in *Scripturis celestibus* haurire eruditionem." And the writer commonly entitled Nennius (between 796 and 994), although stating that St Patrick went to Rome, agrees as to the leading object of his journey: "per longum spatium ibidem mansit ad legendum scrutandaque mysteria Dei sanctasque percurrit *Scripturas*:" Apud *Monum. Hist. Britan.* ed. Petrie, I. 71, B. We have no means of ascertaining the character of any of the elementary tracts ("abietoria"), which this writer would ascribe to St Patrick (*Ibid.* 72, A): but his own *Confessio* and *Epistola ad Coroticum* (of which the former has been printed, there is reason to believe, in its genuine shape, by Sir W. Betham, *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, Append. to Part II.) abound in proofs of his familiarity with the letter of the Bible. The MS. in which these writings are preserved is known as *The Book of Armagh*, and is not later than the 7th or 8th century. It contains, among other treasures, a fine copy of the New Testament in the version of St Jerome, together with the Prologues, or arguments, of the heterodox Pelagius, the spurious *Epistle to the Laodiceans*, &c.: and, what is remarkable, it omits the disputed verse, on the Three Witnesses, 1 St John v. 7 (Betham, as above, Part II. p. 273). Nor should I fail to add, that the *Confessio* of St Patrick, as well as his *Epistle to Coroticus*, do not quote the Vulgate of St Jerome, but an older Latin version.

We are told that in his efforts to convert the Irish, Patrick came across the channel into Britain, where he soon enlisted many fellow-workers: and a further proof of the religious intercourse subsisting then and afterwards is furnished in the Life of Gildas (Badonius), who became the rector of the school of Armagh, and had the credit of restoring the Irish Church to the position it had reached in the life-time of St Patrick. Gildas heads the catalogue of British *Christian* writers: for the bards,

Taliesin and Aneurin, though they may have been contemporary with him, and acquainted with the sacred writings, did no more than patch some shreds of Christianity on the Druidic superstitions (cf. Palgrave, *Engl. Commonwealth*, i. 155).

Of Gildas, then, we must inquire as to the progress which the British Church had made in studying the Bible. Nothing need be said of the *Historia Britonum*: but the declamatory work, entitled his *Epistola*, is full of extracts from the Old and New Testaments. He finds a series of invectives and remonstrances in Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, 2 Chronicles, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Micah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: St Matthew, St John, Acts, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Hebrews, 1 and 2 St Peter: and also in the Books of Esdras, Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom. Many of these extracts tally with the version of St Jerome: others with the Old Italic (or at least the "Versio Antiqua," printed in Sabatier): but in some few cases they are considerably different from both. The reason of this multiplicity of versions has been pointed out by St Augustine (*De Doctrina Christiana*, Lib. II. c. xi. § 16). One instance is subjoined:

Vulgata Nova.

Rom. i. 21, 22.

'Quia cum cognovissent Deum, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt aut gratias egerunt; sed evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis et obscuratum est insipiens cor eorum, dicentes enim se esse sapientes stulti facti sunt.'

The 'Versio Antiqua' only differs in reading *cognoverunt* for *cognovissent*.

Gildas.

'Quia quum cognoverunt Deum, non sicut Deum magnificaverunt, aut gratias egerunt; sed evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis et ocæcatum est insipiens cor eorum: dicentes se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt.'

In omitting *enim*, Gildas adheres closely to the Greek, *φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοί κ.τ.λ.*

I have remarked in this case, and in others also where various readings occur in the Epistles of St Paul, that Gildas had before him the same text as Pseudo-Ambrose and Sedulius, of whom the latter was most probably an Irishman (cf. Cave, *Hist. Liter.* ad an. 818).

In one passage (*Hist. Monument.* p. 30, b) Gildas tells us that the British clergy instead of turning their attention "ad præcepta sanctorum," were enamoured of "ineptæ sæcularium hominum fabulæ," by which he may have meant the legends of the bards: while in another place (p. 18, d), he seems to indicate that some of the laity were in the habit of reading and meditating on the Scriptures. So at least I understand the words "de deifico tenore monachorumque decretis . . . ruminans," translating, "the divine law and the monastic institutes." Compare what Beda says (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 19) of Fursey the Irish monk who preached the Gospel in East Anglia: "Ab ipso tempore pueritiæ suæ curam non modicam lectionibus sacris simul et monasticis exhibebat disciplinis." Gildas had himself insisted on the circulation of the Scriptures (*Vit. S. Gildæ*, by Caradog of Llancarvan, c. 8): and fragments of one copy of the Gospels in his own handwriting are said to be still preserved (Williams's *Eccl. Antiq. of the Cymry*, p. 189, note; Lond. 1844). The MS. in question consists of 118 leaves, commencing with St Matthew, and breaking off at St Luke iii. 9.

With regard to exegesis, he adopted not unfrequently the current principle of spiritual interpretation ("tropicus sensus," "moralis intelligentia"), using on this point the phraseology of Jerome, with whose works he was acquainted. He does not, however, lose his hold on the historical and literal sense: *e.g.* "Velim quidem hæc Scripturæ Sacræ testimonia huic epistolæ inserta vel inserenda, sicut nostra mediocritas posset, omnia utcumque historico vel morali sensu interpretari" (p. 40, d).

But whatever may be thought of the preceding evidence, there is most solid ground for stating that in the 6th and two following centuries, the Church of Ireland was conspicuous in all the West for biblical learning. *How* she had secured that eminence is open to dispute; but of the fact itself, the proofs are quite decisive. This might be asserted even were St Patrick, Bridget, Germain, and the rest, entirely mythical, or even (as the author of *Britannia after the Romans* would contend) were they no better than infatuated zealots bent on propagating "Neo-Druidism." For instance Alcuin, writing at the close of the 8th century, tells us (*Ep.* ccxxi.; *Opp.* i. 285, Ratisbon. 1777): "Antiquo tempore doctissimi solebant magistri de Hibernia Britanniam, Galliam, Italiam venire, et multos per eccle-

sias Christi fecisse profectus." Earlier still (circ. A.D. 690) the abbot Aldhelm, while deploring that in Britain neither Greek nor Roman scholars could be found, "qui cœlestis tetrica enodantes bibliothecæ [i. e. of the Bible] problemata sciolis reserare se sciscitantibus valeant," speaks of the literary eminence of Ireland, "quo catervatim istinc lectores classibus advecti confluunt" (in Ussher's *Vet. Epist. Hibern.* Ep. XIII.: Works, IV. 451, ed. Elrington). And Beda (*Hist. Eccl.* III. 27) writing of the same period gives these interesting particulars: "Erant ibidem eo tempore multi nobilium simul et mediocrium de gente Anglorum, qui tempore Finani et Colmani episcoporum, relicta insula patria, vel *Divinæ lectionis* vel continentioris vitæ gratia illo secesserant. Et quidam quidem mox se monasticæ conversationi fideliter mancipaverunt, alii magis circumeundo per cellas magistrorum lectioni operam dare gaudebant: quos omnes Scotti [i. e. the Irish] libentissime suscipientes victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum, et magisterium gratuitum præbere curabant."

Happily we are not left to guess the names of individual scholars, nor the kind of literature in which they were absorbed. The mission of Columba to the Northern Picts occurred in 565. Of his untiring zeal and evangelic spirit several monuments are still existing, and no feature in his character is more strongly marked than his devotion to the study of the Bible. Beda, who himself was trained among the Roman (as distinguished from the Irish) party, mentions this as one of many excellencies in the abbots of Iona: "Tantum ea quæ in *propheticis, evangelicis* et *apostolicis literis* discere poterant pietatis et castitatis opera diligenter observantes" (*Hist. Eccl.* III. 4). The last earthly task of St Columba was to copy out the Psalter; for on reaching the verse "Inquirentes autem Deum non minuentur omni bono" he paused, and left the rest to be transcribed by his favourite pupil, Baithen (see the *Tertia Vita S. Columbæ*, written soon after his death, in Colgan's *Trias*, II. 329). Some Irish antiquaries hold that portions of this copy of the Psalter are still extant in the famous relique called the "Caah," containing a Latin MS. that has come down for ages in the O'Donell family (Betham, Part I. pp. 119, sq.). The version it presents is that of the Vulgate, as corrected by St Jerome.

Other members of the Irish mission, such as Aidan and

Adamnan, followed in the steps of their great master, St Columba. Of the former it is said: "In tantum autem vita illius a nostri temporis segnitia distabat, ut omnes qui cum eo incedebant, sive *adtonsi*, sive *laici* meditari deberent: id est, aut *legendis Scripturis*, aut psalmis discendis operam dare" (Bed. III. 5). And in speaking of Adamnan, this authority declares (v. 15): "Erat enim vir bonus et sapiens, et *scientia Scripturarum* nobilissime instructus." Even Egbert, the Anglo-Saxon, who induced so many of the northern converts to accept the Roman usages respecting Easter, owed his learning chiefly to the sister-country: "In Hibernia diutius exulaverat pro Christo, eratque et *doctissimus in Scripturis* et longæ vitæ perfectione eximius" (Bed. III. 4).

Moreover it is well attested that for many years, until the Roman missionaries gained complete ascendancy in England, and such men as Wilfrith and Boniface went out to propagate the Gospel on the continent of Europe, nearly all the more distinguished preachers had been trained in Ireland. For example, Agilbert, a Gaul, the second bishop of Wessex, had crossed the channel with this object: "*Legendarum gratia Scripturarum* in Hibernia non parvo tempore demoratus" (Bed. III. 7). Kilian, the apostle of Franconia, was an Irishman, and his biographer inserts the following notice: "A puerili ætate magnum habet studium *sacras discere literas* et in eis tam perfecte proficiens ut exinde pontificale didicit regere culmen" (Canisius, *Lect. Antiq.* IV. 642, ed. Ingolstadt, 1603). The ardent missionary Wilbrord, a Northumbrian, whom his father placed, while yet an infant, with the monks at Ripon ("religiosis studiis et sacris litteris erudiendum") was attracted in his twentieth year (677) by the illustrious schools of Ireland, and went over to complete his education. "Ibique duodecim annis, inter eximios simul piæ religionis et *sacræ lectionis* magistros, futurus multorum populorum prædicator erudiebatur" (see his Life by Alcuin, in Alcuini *Opp.* III. 183, sqq.).

But if Wilbrord be allowed to rank in some degree among the Anglo-Saxon literati, we may doubtless find a genuine representative of Ireland in the earlier missionary Columbanus (d. 615). Guided by the principles which he had learned at home, he thus expresses his belief in the supremacy of Holy Scripture: "Illud Dei ineffabile meditandum est magis, quam eloquendum sit [? est]; et, exceptis his quæ aut *Lex* aut *Prophetæ* aut *Evan-*

gelium aut *Apostoli* loquuntur, grande debet esse ab aliis de Trinitate silentium...Cæterum disputatio, seu ingenium humanum, aut aliqua superba sapientia quæ vel mundi in ratione fallitur, de Deo magistra esse non potest, sed sacrilega et impia in Deum præsumenda est:" *Instructio* II. in *Max. Biblioth. Patrum* (Lugdun. 1677), XII. 10. A kindred feeling manifests itself in the following passage, which may also serve as an example of his large and generous views. He is addressing certain Gallic bishops on the Paschal controversy: "Absit ut ego contra vos contendam congregiendum, ut gaudeant inimici nostri de nostra contentione, Judæi scilicet aut hæretici sive pagani gentiles. Absit sane, absit: alioquin aliter [?] inter] nos potest convenire, ut aut unusquisque in quo vocatus est, in eo permaneat apud Dominum, si utraque bona est traditio: aut cum pace et humilitate sine ulla contentione libri legantur utrique; et quæ plus Veteri et Novo Testamento concordant, sine ullius invidia serventur:" *Epist.* II. *Ibid.* p. 26. (Cf. his forcible letter to pope Gregory the Great: *Ibid.* pp. 31 sqq.). From these and other writings we infer that Columbanus was superior to the great majority of Irish scholars in the freshness of his thoughts, the vigour of his language, and the aptness of his references * to Holy Scripture. He had also mastered the chief works of Latin theologians: and at least one passage seems to indicate that he was not entirely unacquainted with Greek and Hebrew. He affirms that "Columba" corresponds to *περιστρέφα* and also to *יִנְיָ* (= Iona): but as this conceit is elsewhere mentioned (e.g. in the Preface to Adamnan's *Life* of Columba), we are scarcely justified in laying stress on the above conclusion.

Columbanus was succeeded on the continent by other kindred spirits, for example, by St Gall and Feargal or Virgilius, bishop of Salzburg. It is worthy of remark that some at least of these itinerant Irishmen ("Scoti sancti peregrini" they are called) were constantly betraying modes of thought much freer than we trace among the "Roman" missionaries; and that one of them in particular named Clement was severely taxed by Boniface (*Ep.* LVII. ed. Giles) for propagating grievous errors, "contra catholicam ecclesiam." "Ipse etiam" it is added "contra fidem sanctorum patrum contendit, dicens, quod Christus,

* His quotations vary somewhat from the ordinary Latin versions; but not so much as those of Erigena, which are indeed remarkable for their independence.

Filius Dei, descendens ad inferos, omnes quos inferni carcer detinuit inde liberasset, credulos et incredulos, laudatores Dei simul et cultores idolorum: et multa alia horribilia de prædestinatione Dei contraria fidei catholicæ affirmat."

As a general rule, I think, these speculative tendencies are in that age associated with Irish culture. Dunstan, for example, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had imbibed a somewhat novel taste for science and for Christian philosophy as well, from intercourse with Irish monks and the perusal of their treatises: (see Wright's *Biograph. Britan.* I. 457). But he in whom such tendencies had reached their very highest point was a distinguished layman, John Scotus Erigena, the friend of Charles-le-Chauve. He is the earliest Keltic scholar who had studied Greek successfully; and I may add, the first who was acquainted with the Greek Fathers. His achievements in this new field of literature astonished his opponents: "Mirandum est quoque," writes the bibliothecarius of the Roman Church, "quomodo vir ille barbarus, qui in finibus mundi positus, quanto ab hominibus conversatione, tanto credi potuit alterius linguæ dictione longinquus, talia intellectu capere [alluding to the work of the Pseudo-Dionysius], in aliamque linguam transferre valuerit:" Ussher's *Vet. Epist. Hiber. Sylloge*; Works, iv. 483. On many subjects, it is true, Erigena departed widely from the doctrines of the Church, and, as Neander proves at length (*Ch. Hist.* vi. 163 sqq.), his principles, if logically carried out, would have resulted in gigantic errors, in "an altogether pantheistic system of the world." Yet owing to his Christian training he stopped short of this conclusion. Witness the deep reverence which he always manifested for the Scriptures. In the Preface to his translation of the Pseudo-Dionysius, he addressed his friend the emperor in the following terms: "Toto vestræ mentis intuitu totaque cordis devotione *Sanctarum Scripturarum secreta*, ducente Deo et rationis lumine, investigatis investigantesque diligitis. Et non solum Latialis eloquii maximos sanctissimosque autores perquiritis; verum etiam *in augmentum ædificationis catholicæ fidei*, novis modernisque editionibus, in laudem Christiani dogmatis, Hellados patres pio affectu addidistis consulere." (Ussher, as above, pp. 476, 477). And at the close of his elaborate treatise, *De Divisione Naturæ*, (Oxon. 1681) is a very striking passage which I quote at length because it may be taken as the best

exponent of his views respecting the authority and depth of Holy Scripture, and the way in which it should be studied. "Non enim solummodo in parabolis, verum etiam in multis Divinæ Scripturæ locis talis formæ locutionis divinum nectar eructat, facilemque interpretationis viam studiosis mysticorum sermonum theoriæ præstant. Non enim alio modo sanctorum Prophetarum multiplex in divinis intellectibus contextus potest discerni, nisi per frequentissimos non solum per periodos, verum etiam per cola et commata, transitus ex diversis sensibus in diversos, et ab eisdem iterum in eosdem occultissimas crebrisimasque reversiones. Sæpissime enim unam eandemque expositionis speciem absque ullo transitu in diversasfigurationes sequentibus aut error aut maxima difficultas innascitur interpretandi: concatenatus quippe est Divinæ Scripturæ contextus, dædalicisque diviticulis et obliquitatibus perplexus. Neque hoc Spiritus Sanctus invidia intelligendi, quod absit existimari, sed studio nostram intelligentiam [*? exercendi*] sudorisque et inventionis præmii reddendi: præmium quippe est in sacra Scriptura laborantium pura perfectaue intelligentia. O Domine Jesu, nullum aliud præmium, nullam aliam beatitudinem, nullum aliud gaudium a Te postulo, nisi ut ad purum absque ullo errore fallacis theoriæ Verba Tua, quæ per Tuum Sanctum Spiritum inspirata sunt, intelligam." (p. 306).

C. HARDWICK.

Juvenal VI.

Madvig's transposition of Juv. VI. 307, 308 is confirmed not only by three MSS. cited in Jahn's critical note, but also by an early MS. in the Library of Shrewsbury School.

The lines stand in most MSS.

I nunc et dubita, qua sorbeat aera sanna
Tullia quid dicat notæ collectea Mauræ,
Maura Pudicitæ veterem quum præterit aram.

By transposing the last two lines Madvig (*Opusc. II. p. 196* seq. after Achaintre and Ruperti) has restored the sense.

J. E. B. MAYOR.

*Adversaria.**Value of Roman Money.*

GRONOVIVS's estimate of the value of Roman money is vitiated by two principal errors: his doctrine that 100 denarii went to the pound weight of silver, a doctrine connected with his theory that the proper and direct meaning of sesterium is two pounds and a half of silver, but which is contradicted both by testimony and by the denarii, which like the bricks in Richard II. are alive to this day to witness to the contrary; and his confounding the pound Troy with the Roman pound. The errors tend to balance, one making the denarius too little in value, and the other making our currency of too small value: but his result is of course mere haphazard, to say nothing of his neglecting the question of alloy.

The basis of the calculations in the Dictionary of Antiquities is much more satisfactory, but the calculations themselves are wrong. The articles *Sestertius* and *Denarius* do not take into account that our shilling circulates as a counter above its intrinsic value. The value of the denarius is determined by comparing its weight of fine silver with that of the shilling. Now as our coinage since 1816 is at the rate of 66s. to the pound, the result is the same as if the price of silver had been taken to be 66*d.* per ounce standard, which certainly is not its real price. The rate of coinage was purposely fixed above the variations of the bullion market to prevent melting. Sixty-two pence is the price commonly assumed in calculating the par of exchange, and is rather a large average price. Taking the data given in the article *Denarius*, and this price of silver, the denarius of the end of the Republic is worth (not 8.6245*d.* as it is there made) but 8.099*d.*, or in round numbers not 8½*d.* but 8*d.*

The error will be nearly the same in the value of the later denarius.

The value of the sesterium resulting from the value of the denarius which I have quoted is £8. 19*s.* 8*d.*, though by some error of calculation it is reduced to £8. 17*s.* 1*d.*; the real value is £8. 8*s.* 8½*d.*, so that the two mistakes, like Gronovius's, tell against one another.

It is curious that the later value of the denarius gives the sestertium £7. 7s. 7½d., a sum in 7 as the other in 8.

In the article *Aureus* the writer says that the sovereign contains 113.12g. of fine gold. It really contains (neglecting the third place of decimals), neither more nor less than 113 grains. The result is that he gives the aureus as £1. 1s. 1d. and a little more than a half-penny, instead of as nearly as possible £1. 1s. 2d.

The following is an outline of my calculation :

Required the price of 60 grains of silver $\frac{29}{30}$ ths fine, at 62d. per ounce standard. (1 ounce = 480 gr.)

$$x = 60 \frac{62}{480} \frac{40}{37} \frac{29}{30} \text{ (Standard being } \frac{37}{40} \text{ ths fine). Reducing}$$

$$x = \frac{31 \times 29}{3 \times 37}.$$

$$31 \times 29 = 30^2 - 1 = 899,$$

$$3 \times 37 = 111,$$

$$x = 8.099d. + \text{value of early denarius,}$$

$$250 \text{ denarii} = 1 \text{ sestertium,}$$

$$240 \text{ pence} = \text{£}1.$$

$$\therefore \text{value of sestertium} = \text{£} \frac{809.9}{96} = \text{£} \frac{10123}{12} = \text{£}8.435,$$

$$= \text{£}8. 8s. 8d.4 + \text{ or } \text{£}8. 8s. 8\frac{1}{2}d. \text{ nearly.}$$

The later denarius is 52.5 gr. or 8.75 of the earlier, and the sestertium is in the same proportion.

R. L. ELLIS.

Classical Illustrations of St Matthew's Gospel.

V. 29 and 30. Max. Tyr. XI. (al. xxx.) § 4: Τί γὰρ εἰ καὶ τὰ μέρια τοῦ σώματος φωνὴν λαβόντα, ἐπειδὴν κάμνη τι αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱατροῦ τεμνόμενον ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ ὅλου, εὐξαιτο τῇ τέχνῃ μὴ φθαρῆναι; οὐκ ἀποκριθεῖται ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς αὐτοῖς, ὡς οὐχ ὑμῶν ἕνεκα, ὃ δειλαία, χρὴ οἷχεσθαι τὸ πᾶν σῶμα, ἀλλ' ἐκείνο σωζέσθω, ὑμῶν ἀπολλυμένων; Cic. Phil. VIII. § 15: In corpore si quid ejusmodi est quod reliquo corpori noceat, uri secarique patimur; ut membrorum aliquod potius quam totum corpus intereat.

V. 37. Auson. Epist. xxv. 38 seq.: Sic fama renatum Pytha-

goram docuisse refert: quum multa loquaces Ambiguus sererent verbis, contra omnia solum *Est* respondebat, vel *Non*. O certa loquendi Regula! Cf. Idyl. xvii.

V. 45. Sen. De Ben. i. 1 § 9 seq.: Non est autem quod tardiores faciat ad bene merendum turba ingratorum. Nam primum, ut dixi, nos illam augemus: deinde ne deos quidem immortales ab hac tam effusa benignitate sacrilegi negligentesque eorum deterrent. Utuntur natura sua et cuncta interque illa ipsos munerum suorum malos interpretes juvant. Hos sequamur duces, quantum humana imbecillitas patitur: demus beneficia, non feneremus.... Quam multi indigni luce sunt! et tamen dies oritur. Cf. De Clem. i. 5 § 7, Prudent. contr. Symm. ii. 780 seq., Orell. ad Opusc. Moral. i. p. 583.

VI. 2. Sen. De Ben. i. 7 § 3: Sed superbe dedit, sed circumtulit, et placere non ei cui præstabat voluit: ambitioni dedit, non mihi.

VI. 3. Sen. De Ben. ii. 10 § 2: Si, quo genere accipienti maxime profuturum erit, dabis, contentus eris te teste: alioquin non benefacere delectat, sed videri benefecisse. Compare the whole of chapters 9 and 10.

VI. 9. Epictet. iii. 24 §§ 15, 16: "Ἡδεὶ γὰρ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὀρφανός, ἀλλὰ πάντων ἀεὶ καὶ διηλεκῶς ὁ πατήρ ἐστιν ὁ κηδόμενος· οὐ γὰρ μέχρι λόγου ἡκηκόει, ὅτι πατήρ ἐστιν ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃς γε καὶ αὐτοῦ πατέρα ᾤετο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκάλει, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀφορῶν ἔπραττεν ἃ ἔπραττε. Compare St John xiv. 18.

VI. 20. Diodor. Exc. Vat. p. 19, Mai: 'Ο Χίλωνος λόγος βραχὺς ὢν ὅλην περιέλιψε τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄριστον βίον ὑποθήκην, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθημάτων βελτίω ταῦτα τὰ ἀποφθέγματα· αἱ μὲν γὰρ χρυσαὶ Κροίσου πλίνθοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κατασκευάσματα ἠφανίσθη καὶ μεγάλας ἀφορμὰς παρέσχε τοῖς ἀσεβεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐλομένοις, αἱ δὲ γινώμαι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον σώζονται ἐν ταῖς τῶν πεπαιδευμένων ψυχαῖς τεθησαυρισμέναι καὶ κάλλιστον ἔχουσαι θησαυρόν, πρὸς δὲ οὔτε Φωκεῖς οὔτε Γαλάται προσενεγκεῖν τὰς χεῖρας σπουδαῖαι.

VI. 24. Demophil. Sentent. Pythag. 44 (Orell. Opusc. Moral. i. p. 42): Φιλήδονον καὶ φιλοσώματον καὶ φιλοχρήματον καὶ φιλόθεον τὸν αὐτὸν ὑδύνατον εἶναι.

VI. 30. Diodor. ii. 49: τοῦ δὲ κόστου καὶ κασίας ἔτι δὲ κινωμόμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιοῦτων χόρτοι καὶ θάμνοι βαθεῖαι τοσαῦται πεφύκασιν ὥστε τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις σπανίως ἐπὶ βωμοὺς θεῶν τιθέμενα παρ' ἐκείνους καὶ κριβάνων ὑπάρχειν ἐκκαύματα.

VI. 32. Epictet. Enchir. Paraphr. Christian. c. 38 (Schweigh. Vol. v. p. 66): Προσευχόμενοι μὴ περὶ χρημάτων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκτὸς αἰτώμεθα· μᾶλλον τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ αἰτώμεθα πάντοτε, ὅτι καὶ προγινώσκει ὃν χρῆζομεν καὶ κήδεται πάντων.

VI. 34. Thuc. II. 39 § 5: Περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγευνοῖς μὴ προκαίμεν. Epictet. I. 9 § 19: Ὃταν χορτασθῇτε σήμερον, κάθησθε κλάοντες περὶ τῆς αὔριον, πόθεν φάγητε. I have retained this passage, though Raphel, Wetstein, and Wolf have quoted it on verse 25.

VII. 2. Diodor. Fragm. Vat. p. 66, Mai: Δίκαιον γάρ ἐστιν ὃν καθ' ἐτέρων τις νόμον ἔθηκε τούτῳ κεχρησθαι.

VII. 12. Cleobul. ap. Orell. Opusc. Moral. I. p. 150: Ὁ σὺ μισεῖς, ἐτέρῳ μὴ ποιήσης.

VII. 13. Orell. Opusc. Moral. I. p. 59: Littera Pythagoræ discrimine secta bicorni, Humanæ vitæ speciem præferre videtur. Nam via virtutis dextrum petit ardua collem, Difficilemque aditum primum spectantibus offert, Sed requiem præbet fessis in vertice summo. Molle iter ostendit via lata, sed ultima meta Præcipitat captos, volvitque per ardua saxa. Cf. ib. p. 480.

VII. 16. Sen. Ep. 87 § 21 (§ 25 Haase): Non nascitur igitur ex malo bonum, non magis quam ficus ex olea: ad semen nata respondent; bona degenerare non possunt.

X. 22. Plin. Ep. x. 97 § 2: Nec mediocriter hæsitavi, ... nomen ipsum etiamsi flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohærentia nomini puniantur. Cf. Tertull. Apol. II. 21, Arnob. II. 1, Justin. Apol. I. § 4, Athenag. § 2.

X. 26. Phædr. Fab. Nov. XXII. 1: Nil est occultum quod non manifestabitur. One passage, amongst many, which betrays the late origin of these new fables*.

X. 31. Porson reads πολλῶ. Aristophan. p. 110 (ad Acharn. 270.)

J. E. B. MAYOR.

* The occurrence of the story of the Ephesian matron in Phædr. Fab. Nov. 13, does not prove that the writer was acquainted with Petronius's more graphic version (c. 111, 112); for that story seems to have been early popular in Rome, and both writers may have used it independently. The fabulist, be he who he may, probably lived before John

of Salisbury, whom the author of the article *Petronius* in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopædie* (in the supplementary notice at the end of the volume), cites as the second authority for the tale. He might have learnt from the notes on Petronius that it occurs in Romulus's prose edition of Phædrus.

*Anecdota.**Inscriptions.*

Rev. Archéol. 15 Nov. 1853. Paris. p. 501, seq. *Notice sur quelques objets, dont vient de s'enrichir le Musée de l'Hermitage.*

[COUNT Pérowski, director of antiquarian excavations in Russia, has discovered, amongst other antiquities, the base of a marble statue of the time of Pærisades I., king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. It was found last April, near the sea, one *werste*, about two-thirds of a mile, from the station *Sennaie*, near the supposed site of Phanagoria, the capital of the Asiatic provinces of the kingdom of Bosphorus. The base bears the inscription: *Κασσαλία Πόσιος ἀνέθηκε Ἀφροδίτῃ Οὐρανίῃ ἀρχοντος Παιρισάδεος Βοσπόρου καὶ Θευδοσίας καὶ βασιλεύοντος Σίνδων Μαϊτῶν Θατέων Δόσχων*. "Cassalia, daughter of Posis, dedicated this statue to Aphrodite Urania, when Pærisades was governor of Bosphorus and Theudosia, and king of the Sindi, the Maïtæ, the Thatenses, and the Doschi." Aphrodite Urania is named in another inscription (Böckh, II. No. 2109 b), where she is called Apaturia; she had a temple at Phanagoria (Strab. XI. 2, § 10, p. 495).

Pærisades I. son of Leucon I. succeeded his brother Spartocus III. in 348 B.C., and reigned till 311 B.C. The princes of his race (*Spartocidæ*) refused the invidious title of *king* of the Bosphorus.

There are five other known inscriptions of Pærisades the First. One (Böckh, II. No. 2117) was dedicated by Xenoclide, son of *Posis*. The *Δόσχοι* are only mentioned by Strabo (I. c. § 11), and in our inscription. On the other tribes, see Böckh, II. pp. 92 seq., 96 seq.

A second acquisition is a bronze statue of an athlete, a conqueror in games celebrated in honour of the emperors chiefly in Asia Minor. It is assigned to the third century, and is of the natural size.

A third is a *στήλη*, of white marble, found near Smyrna, representing Tryphon, son of Tryphon, a youth of fourteen, attired in a *χιτών* and accompanied by a dog. There is an inscription:

ΖΗΤΕΙΣ Ω ΠΑΡΟΔΕΙΤΑ ΤΙΣ Η ΣΤΗΛΛΗ ΤΙΣ Ο ΤΥΜΒΟΣ
ΤΙΣ ΔΗ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΣΤΗΛΑ Η ΕΙΚΩΝ ΝΕΟΤΕΥΚΤΟΣ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΥ
ΥΙΟΣ ΤΡΥΦΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥΝΟΜΑΤΑΤΟΣ ΕΧΩΝ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑ ΚΑΙ

ΔΕΚΕΤΗ

ΔΟΛΙΧΟΝ

ΒΙΟΤΟΥ

ΣΤΑΔΙΕΣ

ΣΑΣ

ΤΟΥΘΟΠΟΤΕ

ΩΝ ΓΕΓΟΝΑ

ΣΤΕΛΛΗ ΤΥΜ

ΒΟΣ ΛΙΘΟΣ

ΕΙΚΩΝ.

Abridged from B. de Koehne, St Petersburg.

In the Dec. No. p. 560, seq. M. Rossignol has corrected the last inscription. In the second line, for δῆ should be read δέ, with the elision of the vowel. ΣΤΗΛΛ...Η should be ΣΤΗΛΛΗ; the word twice occurs in the other lines with a double λ. If M. de Koehne's copy is exact, the stonecutter has made an Α of the second Λ, and given the Η as article to εικών. In line 3, for ὑπάρχεν read ὑπάρχει. In line 4, for τατος τ' αὐτός. In Welcker's *Syll. Epigr.* n. 96, a pentameter is similarly placed between two and three hexameters. Τρύφων properly has the first syllable short. In v. 4, for σταδιέσσας read σταδιεύσας. Philo (Vol. I. p. 328. 5) says: σταδιεύσαι τὸν βίον. Τεσσαρακαδέκῃ should be read as one word, an adj. In v. 5, for τοῦθ' ὅποτε ὦν, read τοῦτό ποτ' ὦν.

The employment of the cursive ω together with Ω, and the diphthong in παροδείτα, bring the inscription as low as Hadrian's reign. The duplication of the λ in στήλλη, and of the σ in σταδιέσσας, bring us to the reign of Septimius Severus. As corrected, the inscription will run:

Ζητεῖς, ὦ παροδίτα, τίς ἡ στήλη, τίς ὁ τύμβος,
Τίς δ' ἐν τῇ στήλῃ εἰκὼν νεότευκτος ὑπάρχει;
Υἱὸς Τρύφωνος τοῦνομα τ' αὐτὸς ἔχων·
Τεσσαρακαδέκῃ δολίχον βιώτου σταδιεύσας,
Τοῦτό ποτ' ὦν, γέγονα στήλη, τύμβος, λίθος, εἰκὼν.

With the fourth verse M. Rossignol compares Epicr. *ap. Athen.* XIII. p. 570: Ἐπεὶ δὲ δολίχον τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἤδη τρέχει, and the *Append. Anthol.* n. 148: Λαμπάδα γὰρ ζωᾶς με δραμεῖν μόνον ἤθελε δαίμων, Τὸν δὲ μακρὸν γήρως οὐκ ἐτίθει δολίχον. With v. 5, *Anthol. Pal.* VII. 467: Οὐδ' ἐς ἐφηβείαν ἦλθες, τέκος· ἀντὶ δὲ σείο Στάλα καὶ κωφὰ λείπεται ἄμμι κόνις.]

Marginalia on Eusebius, by Bishop Pearson.

IF Pearson had been a copious writer, it might perhaps have been fairly considered superstitious to hoard every particle of his "dust," without separating the "gold" from the less precious matter. But, even without the sanction of Bentley's judgement (a judgement pronounced, be it remembered, in a philological treatise upon philological merits), the scanty amount of Pearson's extant remains would surely justify a somewhat excessive care.

Four volumes, which formerly belonged to him, and the margins of which contain sundry notes and corrections in his handwriting, are now in the Public Library at Cambridge. They are, as Archdeacon Churton kindly informs me, the books mentioned in the Memoir (p. xcvi.) prefixed to his edition of Pearson's *Minor Theological Works*, as apparently given to the Library by Archdeacon Allen, the Bishop's chaplain. Such, at least, Mr Churton believes to have been the account repeated to him some years ago by the late Dr Wordsworth. They are also mentioned, without a word as to the mode of their acquisition, at the end of the old Catalogue of MSS. belonging to the Library. One of them supplied Thirlby, in the year 1722, with the notes which he published at the end of his edition of Justin Martyr. This is all that I have been able to discover respecting their outward history. Beside Justin Martyr's works and those of the minor Apologists associated with him, they contain Eusebius's *Præparatio Evangelica*, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, both treatises against Marcellus, and that against Hierocles, and also Photius's *Bibliotheca*. It was probably Pearson's constant habit to write marginal notes as he read: and, if so, many libraries in the kingdom may possess volumes exhibiting traces of his clear and vigorous pen. By keeping this probability in mind, much might still be recovered;—perhaps even the substance of those notes on St Epiphanius, of which Cave (*Hist. Litt.* i. 233, 4. Basileæ. 1741.) expressly bewails the loss.

The present number contains only notes on Eusebius. It will be seen that many of the best textual emendations coincide with the readings of fresh MSS. published by Dr Gaisford: but still a

regard for Pearson's credit seemed to justify their retention. Indeed I have omitted nothing but the most obvious corrections of typographical errors. Throughout the *Præparatio Evangelica* Heinichen's paragraphs are added in curved brackets for the sake of those who possess his edition only. Dr Gaisford has most properly retained in his margin the paging and lettering of the earlier editors.

F. J. A. HORT.

Præparatio Evangelica.

Ed. Viger. Paris. 1628.

(3. 22. 39. *Bibl. Acad. Cantab.*)

Pearsoni annotationes.

1 A. (I. i. 1), Θεόδοτε

Laodiceæ Episcopo

4 B. (I. i. 10), πρὸς ἡμᾶς—διερευνώμεν.

p. [cum nota quadam obscura.]

4 C. (I. i. 11, 12), [eadem verba].

p. [item cum nota prioris dissimili: alteram vero alteri respondere contextu repetito edocemur.]

31 A. (I. ix. 16), nostra memoria [καθ' ἡμᾶς]

[nostra] ætate p. 179. [D. (v. i. 7)].

ιστορεῖ δὲ κ.τ.λ.

p. 485. [A. (x. ix. 9)].

— B. (I. ix. 17), κατὰ

δ [κατὰ] [sic Vigerus, p. 485. C. (x. ix. 10)].

141 D. (IV. v. 3), οἶδεν ὀνομάζει

[οἶδεν ὀνομάζει] p. [sic Hein. et codd. ap. Gaisf.: οὐδέν' ὀνομάζει Gaisf. e codd. A. H.]

142 A. (IV. v. 4), λέξεως

16. λήξεως [sic Gaisf. e cod. D. et Toupii conj.: cf. Mi. Theol. Works, II. 47].

179 D. (v. i. 7), ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς—ὁ Πορφ.

p. 31. [A. (I. ix. 6). Vide supra].

210 D. (v. xx. 2), ναυάκτου καὶ τυράλου,

Ναυράκτου καὶ Τυράλου, Holst. [ad Steph. Byz. p. 133. GAISF.]

214 A. (v. xxii. 1), Τριχίνα.

Τριχίνα. [sic Gaisf. e codd. C. P. G.: sed vide infra].

227 D. (v. xxx. 2), novam [νέαν]

[lineam subductā].

226 A. (v. xxxi. 1), Ἀντιόχῳ—Ἀντιόχ' [bis]

Holst. [ad St. Byz. p. 133. GAISF.] Ἀρχιλόχῳ—Ἀρχιλοχ'

255 D. (vi. vii. 4), Κάριστε

Κάριστε [sic Gaisf. post Holst. e Steph. Byz. p. 163].

257 A. (vi. vii. 9), Ἀμφὶ Ἀρηαδῆν (Ver-sus Areadiam)

Ἀμφιαραδῆν Amphiarai filii. Holst. [ad St. Byz. p. 347. Ἀμφιαραῖδην Valcken. Diatr. Eurip. p. 287. G. GAISF.: ipse Ἀμφιαρηῖδην e cod. I. (—δος)].

260 A. (vi. vii. 21), Τριχῶν

Τριχῶν [sic Gaisf. contra codd.: Τριχίλων habet Codex Sacerdotianus Herodoti. VII. 175].

<i>Ed. Viger. Paris. 1628.</i>	<i>Pearsoni annotationes.</i>
284 D. (vi. xi. 15), γενομένης	[γενομένης] <i>[sic Gaisf. e cod. I. et ipso Orig.]</i> .
404 A. (ix. ii. τίς.) [ἀπὸ τοῦ] α'.	ισ. β.
— C. (ix. iii. 1), τετάρτῳ	δευτέρῳ [<i>manus tamen, fortasse ipsius Pears., scripturam oblevit: quod sequitur intactum est.</i>] 407 D. [ix. iii. 13].
406 C. (ix. iii. 8), συναδικεῖσθαι	συναγωνεῖσθαι [<i>e Joseph. B. J. II. viii. 7. Gaisf.</i>]
404 D. (ix. iii. 13), ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ συγ- γράμματι	404 C. [ix. iii. 1].
413 B. (ix. x. 3), οἱ δὲ κρατοῦντες	v. Vales. in Eus. p. 63 [H. E. iv. 7. T. I. p. 307. <i>ed. Hein.</i>] Scripsit igitur Porphy. sub Constantino.
447 B. (ix. xxx. 2), Μωαμίτας	[Μωα]β[ίτας] [<i>sic Gaisf. ex Holst. in St. Byz. p. 216.</i>]
— D. (ix. xxx. 4), Ἀχάδνους	Αἰλάνους [<i>sic Gaisf. ex Holst. in St. Byz. p. 16: codd. C. D. F. G. I. Ἑλάνους habent.</i>]
453 C. (ix. xxxvii. 3), τοσαῦτα—Πολυ- στορος.	Non vidit igitur Philo neque [?] Eus.
483 C. (x. ix. 2), προῖόν	an ἀνιών?
485 A. (x. ix. 9), τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίων κ.τ.λ.	p. 31 [A. (x. ix. 16)].
— C. (x. ix. 13), ἡ δὲ [Σεμέραμυς] μα- κρῷ πρόσθεν τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὁμολο- γεῖται.	unde?
488 C. (x. x. 4), auferre [εἰρεῖν]	[<i>lin. subd.</i>]
496 D. (x. xii. 1), Pontificalium [Ἐξη- γητικῶν]	quid?
502 A. (x. xiv. 13), paulo solutius [κατὰ πλάτος]	[<i>lin. subd.</i>]
— B. (x. xiv. 13), Carthaginensem [Καρχάδονα].	[<i>litt. ensem lin. subd.</i>]
653 B, C. (xiii. vi. 12), Διὶ καὶ ἡμ. κ.τ.λ.	Hæc tempore persecutionis scripta sunt.
788 D. (xv. i. 4), λόγων	[λό]γον [<i>sic Gaisf. e cod. D.</i>]
818 C. (xv. xvi. 1), καταλιπεῖν	ισ. κατειπεῖν [<i>καταλειπεω Gaisf. e codd. B. C. F. G.</i>]

[*Apud Indicem Rerum has sententias subducta linea Pearsonus notavit:*
 “Josephus *Antiq.* 1. Auctorum meminit, qui Diluvii et Arcæ memine-
 runt. 414 a”: “Longinus Stoicorum de animo sententiam oppugnat.
 822 d, et seq.”: “Lysimachus de furtis Ephori. 467 d”: “Malchan, qui
 et Cleodemus, de Judæis scripsit. 422 a”: “Maximi de materiæ ortu,
 deque malorum caussa in materiam non conferenda, disputatio. 337 b,
 et seq. ad 346.”]

Demonstratio Evangelica.

Ed. Paris. 1628.

(3. 22. 47. Bibl. Acad. Cantab.)

Pearsoni annotationes.

16 D. τῶν Μωσέως χρόνων

34 B. οὐχ ὥσπερ Ἑλλήσω ἐνομίζετο

129 A. τῶν

133 D. σαυτοῦ

134 D. Ταῦτα καὶ νῦν ὁ Πορφύριος

——— ἐαυτοῦ

——— virorum

391 A. εἰ δὲ χρη—ἀγαγεῖν

397 D. in XX. Judaicæ Antiquitatis libro

398 A. πάλιν ἐν ἐτέροις

433 A. Ὁ κατοικῶν κ. τ. λ.

499 D. Ἐπεὶ καὶ—ἐπεσκίασας,

ισ. πρὸ [τ. Μ. χ.]

Porphyrt. l. 1, περὶ ἀποχῆς [l. 11, c. 5,
cf. Eus. Pr. Ev. 28 C—29 B. (l. ix.
7—11)].

τὸν [sic Gaisf. e cod. Paris.]

134 D.

An Porphyrius in vivis cum hæc scripsit
Eusebius?σαυτοῦ 133 D. [σαυτοῦ Gaisf. e cod.
Oxon.]

vestrorum

Hieron. in Daniel. p. 1070 [III. 1111.
ed. Mart.]

c. 8. [XX. 9. p. 901. ed. Huds. 1720.]

l. 18. c. 6. [XVIII. 5. p. 802.]

Ps. 91.

401 [?].

[Post finem undecim asteriscos addidit.]

Contra Hieroclem.

511 A. οὕτω γὰρ—λόγον.

—— B. ἀπελέγεως.

—— παραγ. ξυλ.—ὑπὸθ.,

512 A. παράθεσιν

—— περὶ

513 A. φιλανθρωπίαν

—— βουλόμενοι

—— D. ἔθεσιν

514 B. καθ' ὧν

[unc. curv. incl.: sic Gaisf.]

sc. contra Porphyrium.

παραγ., ξυλ.—ὑπὸθ.

[lin. subd.]

παρὰ [sic Gaisf. e cod. Ven.]

φιλανθρωπίαν,

μὴ [βουλομενοι sic Gaisf. e cod. Ven.]

an ἔθεσιν? [sic tacite Gaisf.]

An καθολικὸς fuit? [i. e. ἐπὶ τῶν καθόλου
λόγων (Eus. H. E. VII. 10) εἶνε

Rationalis, quem Latine vocant. Vide

Exp. of the Creed, p. 346: Suicer.

Thes. in voc.: H. Vales. in Anm.

Marc. XV. 5; xxviii. 2].

δοκεῖ,

κρίσις φαν. κατ., ἡμῶν τε αὐτ., οἱ

[εἰλήφθη] [εἰλη ληφθὲν Gaisf. e cod. Ven.]

[καταγελάσαι] [sic Gaisf. e cod. Ven.]

45 B. [43 B. l. 20. ed. Mor.: l. 32. ed. Ol.]

[διὰλέ]ξω

[καταλέ]λειπ[ται] [sic Gaisf. e cod. Ven.]

[φεῦ] τῆς [sic tacite Gaisf.]

• διαρθρ[οῦντες] [sic Gaisf. ut et margin
Paris.]

——— δοκεῖ

—— C. κρίσις, φαν. κατ. ἡμῶν τε αὐτ., οἱ

517 B. εἰλήφθη

—— D. καταγελάσαι

519 B. ὥδὲ πως—παρτίθεται.

——— διαλέξεις

——— καταλέληπται

——— φεῦτ'

541 D. διαθροῦντες

Contra Marcellum Ancyranum.

- 1 A. *μισαδελφία*
—— *calamitates*
— B. *γράφειν*,
—— *Dei et Ecclesiæ suæ* [*τῆς ἐκκλη-*
σίας τοῦ Θεοῦ]
- 2 A. *ἐμπλεω*,
—— *ἡ φημὴ*,
—— *διαφόρως*
— B. *eis μακρὸν κ.τ.λ.*
— C. *τοῦ θεοῦ*,
—— *αὐτοῦ λέγοντος*
4 B. *τῆς ἀγίας—ἐκκλησίας*
- D. *ημετέρῳ*
- 5 A. *numero*
—— *διαφόροις*,
— C. *δν*
— D. [*Ἀντε τοιαῦτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου uncinis delet.*]
—— *existat*
6 A. *in ratione de Deo Theologica*
instituenda [*ἐν τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ θεο-*
λογίᾳ]
— B. *τούτων αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ.*
— C. *οἶον*
— D. *ἐρήμουν*,
8 B. *ἐκ τῶν νόμων*
—— *Filius*
— D. *φύσω*
9 D. *ἐξηκριβουν*
11 B. *Ἰησοῦ*
12 A. *is qui—esse primogenitus*
- 13 A. *μηδὲ πω—διήλθεν*
— B. *οὐ*
— D. *sæpius*
15 A. *σκηπτομένους*
— B. *εἰρησθαι μὴν—πάντων που*
- 16 A. *πρὸ τδ*
- 27 B.
Clem. ad Corinth. p. 6. [c. 6].
γράφειν
[*et et suæ lin. subd. notavi*]
- ἐμπλεω*
ἡ φημὴ [*sic Gaisf.*]
[*διαφόρ*]ους
p. 57. A.
τοῦ θεοῦ [*sic Gaisf.*]
57. B.
ισ. τὴν [*ἀγί*]αν [*ἐκκλησί*]αν [*sic ipse*
Montac. ad calcem]
παρέλκει [*i. e. 'redundat': om. Gaisf.*
cum cod. Ven.]
[*lin. subd.*]
διαφόροις [*sic Gaisf.*]
αι [*sic Gaisf.*]
ab his omnibus [*existat*]
[*lin. subd.*]
- p. 181. A.
αν ὁμοιον
ἐρήμου
[*lin. subd.: τὸν νόμον Gaisf. e cod. Ven.*]
[*Filius*] *ab illo tempore* [*sc. ἐξ ἐκεῖνου*]
[*φύ*]σις
[*ἐξηκριβ*]ου [*sic Gaisf. e cod. Ven.*]
Ἰησοῦς [*sic tacite Gaisf.*]
per illud, primogenitus ex mortuis, in-
telligi possit, quod dictus sit, pri-
mogenitus omnis creature.
ισ. μηδὲς πω vel διήλθεν. [hoc serius
addidit, forte e Montacuti annota-
tionibus.]
τοῦ [*sic tacite Gaisf.*]
et [*sæpius*]
[*lin. subd.*]
dele. [prius εἰρησθαι unc. quadr. incl.
Gaisf.: infra εἰρησθαι τὴν παροιμίαν
delet Heysius.]
ισ. πρώτων vel π... [*hoc legi non po-*
test: πρὸς τδ Gaisf. e cod. Ven.]

[To be continued in No. II.]

Fragments of Cic. De Fato.

Gött. Gel. Anz. Dec. 1853. p. 1917 sqq.

“Estratto dal Messagere di Modena, n. 847, 14 Ottobre: Nuovi frammenti del libro di Cicerone *De Fato* di recente scoperti in pergamene palimpseste dal. Ch. Cavaliere nobile uomo avvocato Luigi Grisostomo Ferrucci.” Sm. 8vo, pp. 4, Modena.

IN all MSS. hitherto known, Cicero's work *De Fato* is deficient at the beginning and end, besides a considerable gap in what remains. Last summer Mr Ferrucci discovered on three palimpsest parchment leaves, which had been used in binding an old book, the beginning of the treatise *De Fato*, or, as this MS. gives the title: *De Fato disputacio*. The MS. is not very legible, nor does Mr F. seem very exactly to have followed it in point of orthography.

The MS. begins thus: “*Fatum esse nutum Jovis O. M. placitumque deorum immortalium, fides est philosophorum et vulgi communis. Sed quia philosophus nemo vel haberi vel dici solet, nisi parumper a vulgo desciscat, iccirco visum est nonnullis fati necessitatem aut antecessione causarum naturalium quodammodo circumscribere, aut ratione voluntatum atque appetitionum varia quasi fulmen e cœlo deducere.*” The words “*voluntatum atque appetitionum,*” recur in the treatise as before known, § 9. The last clause is rather obscure. Some, it appears to mean, represent fate as a corrective in the hand of the gods, whereby they punish men after their deserts. “Some make fate descend like fire from heaven according to the various character of men's aims and desires.” [*It seems needless to read variarum with Schneidewin.*] To this passage, which occupies the first leaf, Mr F. wrongly, as it seems, proposes to join the opening words of the old fragment: “*Quia pertinet,*” &c.

The second leaf on the first side begins with the words “*Vide quid agas,*” which occur in the passage cited by Macrob. III. 16. § 4 (al. II. 11), and continues: “*Vide quid agas; acipenser iste paucorum hominum est. Quæso, quod exclusi triclinio plures acipenseris deliciis caruere, an vis immutatæ voluntatis, quæ plaga Democrito est, effecit ex eo quod in aurem Scipionis*

instillavit Pontius? an acipenser capiendus et Scipio et Pontius et cœnaturi simul et non * una connexione ab immutabili æternitate continebantur? Mihi quidem expendenti atque æstimanti, quid quisque habeat proprii, quid exp..." The "plaga Democriti" occurs again *De Fato*, § 46, the immutable and eternal succession of causes, § 28. [*Schneidewin rightly says that an—an are not here disjunctive; but his insertion of Quid before quæso is needless. The sense is: "Pray, is the exclusion of the many from our feast owing to a change of mind, &c.?"*] There seems to be no *lacuna* after *non*, the sense being: *Was it fated from all eternity who should dine together and who should not?*

Then follows a gap before the words, "satis erat dici: Byrsa fundabitur. Id enim in fatis, ut aiunt, fuisset: quæ fata, Ennius inquit, *Deum rex nutu partitur suo*. Quod vero mutato nomine evertenda fuisset * [id fieri debuisse facile putabitur ex] cohærentia causarum, [queis Karthago] ad occasum interitumque redigeretur, [mox etiam ad ipsum] exit[ium et eversionem] pertinacia populorum et belli..."

The editor's supplements have little probability. "It would have been enough," says Cicero, "for the oracle to say: *Byrsa shall be founded*. That might have been ascribed to fate. But what follows in the oracle, *Under a new name it shall perish*, ought to have been left out. For its destruction was owing to natural causes, and not to fate." The verse of Ennius, which is found nowhere else, may be a *senarius iambicus*, or *trochaicus octonarius*. Then on another parchment are two small pieces. "Reg.[ulus][de]votos omnes nostros....Cur[tium in] pri[mis], quem ju[re ac mer]ito vel Her[culem vel] Thes[eum] appel[labimus] nostrum. Is enim pro sal[ute] patriæ fut[ura] inferos

Attigit: idque facinus, quod vix [amplit]udine fati conc[ipere]tur], supremo clarissimoque liberæ volunt[atis] ar[dore con]sumavit. It...."

Again the editor's supplements are objectionable. For *ardore* should be read *arbitrio*. [*For amplitudine perhaps necessitudine.*]

J. E. B. M.

[Abridged from Schneidewin.]

Reviews.

Aeschylus' Die Ermordung Agamemnon's. Griechisch mit metrischer Uebersetzung und prüfenden und erklärenden Anmerkungen von J. A. Hartung (*Æschylus' Agamemnon.* The Greek text, with metrical translation and critical and explanatory notes by J. A. Hartung). Leipzig, 1853.

IF external indications may be trusted, *Æschylean* criticism in Germany has not been advancing satisfactorily for the last few years. To find anything really valuable on any considerable scale, we must go back to the days of K. O. Müller and Klausen. Neither of those scholars was distinguished as a verbal critic, but both had that deep and thoughtful appreciation of their author's meaning, that habit of patient examination, "looking before and after," which go far to supply the want of textual acumen. At any rate, the verbal critics cannot be said to have been successful on their own ground. The only exception of which we are aware is Bamberger's *Choephori*, a work of great merit, and one too, which, though generally critical, does not altogether disdain the task of explanation. The *Oresteia* of Franz is full of clever guesses where no guessing is required; but the instances in which real light is thrown on a passage, either by the editor himself or by his mentor, H. L. Ahrens, are far from numerous. Dindorf's second edition, for which Oxford, we fear, must be held partially responsible, quite negatives the merit of his first, abounding in rash and unauthorized alterations, without any marked improvement except perhaps in the arrangement of the metres. Last of all, Hermann, who for years had been complaining that "*Æschylus* was becoming more unlike himself the oftener he was edited," has left behind him a work of which all that can be said is that it certainly redeems his promise of "delivering his author from the many conjectures of many critics" into the uncontrolled power of a single ruthless innovator. That it should excite great attention, especially among his own countrymen, was only to be expected. Accordingly we observe that Meineke has published cheap editions of the *Pro-metheus* and the *Persæ*, with the Medicean Scholia and Hermann's

various readings, as text-books for his lectures. "This," (to borrow the language of Sir William Hamilton, speaking of the progress of Hegelianism) "may be good or it may be bad; the doctrine is good to controvert; it is bad to believe." We only wish that Meineke, instead of lecturing on Hermann, would tell us what he himself thinks about the text of *Æschylus*, as a correction of his own which he has accidentally printed on *Persæ* 1051 (Dind.), μέλαινα δὲα μεμίζεται for μέλαινα δ' αὖ μεμίζεται, promises well for those which may have to follow. Ritschl has gone so far as to publish the *Septem contra Thebas* with a similar object, with Hermann's readings in the text and *Æschylus*' variations noted below, and this after a preface containing a new and most elaborate collation of the Med. MS. of that play.

The book before us is of a different stamp from those last mentioned, bearing indeed some traces of Hermann's influence, but scarcely more than Mr Paley's second edition of the play, which appeared in 1852. We were not prepared to expect much from Hartung in this field, and he has not disappointed us. His work on the Particles, though not faultless, has, we know, gained the approbation of competent scholars: but his edition of the *Iphigenia in Aulide* and his *Euripides Restitutus* show him to be a writer whose taste and judgment cannot be relied on in criticising the text of ancient authors. The present work, we are afraid, must be pronounced less successful than either; the alterations being more arbitrary and presumptuous in proportion to the greater sacredness of the original. Our readers will see that we are not exaggerating, if they will peruse the list that follows. ἐλπίζον κέαρ, v. 10, is changed to ἀλκιφρον κέαρ: εὐτ' ἂν δὲ νυκτίπλαγκτον, v. 11, to ἄλην δὲ νυκτίπλαγκτον: ἐμήν, φόβος γάρ, v. 13, to αἰὲ φόβος γάρ: ἄλγεσι παίδων ὕπατοι λεχέων, v. 48, to ἄλγεσι λεχέων: Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἐνὶ χώρᾳ, v. 76, to Ἄρη δ' οὐκ ἐνιχωρεῖ: ἀδόλοισι παρηγορίαις, v. 92, to ἀγανοῖσι παρηγορίαις: λέξασ', v. 94, to λέξαις: κτήνη πρόσθε τά, v. 122, to κτήνη πρόσδοτα: προτυπὲν στόμιον—στρατωθέν· οἴκῳ γάρ, v. 125, to προτυπὲν τόμιον—στρατῶθ'· θενεῖν· καὶ γάρ: πρὶν ὧν, v. 153, to πέλειν: στάζει δ' ἐν θ, v. 159, to ἔστακεν δ': συμπνέων, v. 165, to συμπεσών: ὀργᾶ (or αἰδᾶ) περιόργως, v. 190, to ἀλκτῆριον ὀργᾶς: βοὴν ἄμικτον, v. 290, to βόημα μικτόν: ἀπήμαντον ὥστε κάπαρκεῖν, v. 345, to ἀπῆμον τόσον ὥστ' ἀπαρκεῖν: προβουλόπαις, v. 351, to προβούλου παῖς: τὸν δ' ἐπίστροφον τῶνδε, v. 360, to τῶνδε περιστροφον δέ: διαὶ γυναικός, v. 404, to χάριν γυναικός: ἐχθρὰ δ' ἔχοντας ἔκρυψεν, v. 411, to ἐχθρὰ δὲ

χθών κατέκρυνψεν: ὄσσοις, v. 422, το ὄγκοις: γυναικὸς αἰχμῇ, v. 436, το γυναικὸς αὐχῇ: ὁ θῆλυς ὄρος, v. 438, το ὁ θῆλυς θροῦς: θάμάρτια, v. 487, το ποινήματα: τεθνᾶναι, v. 489, το θανεῖν δ' ἄν: σπαρνὰς παρήξεις, v. 506, το σπαρνὰς τε λέξεις: γυναικείῳ νόμῳ, v. 544, το γυναικεῖοι στόλοι: ἐξαγισθέντας, v. 591, το ἐξαῖστώτους: γίγαντος, v. 639, το ζαέντος: ἐκφάτως τίνοντας, v. 648, το ἐκφάντως δ' ἔτινον: πολέα δ' ἔσχ' (ἔσκ') ἐν ἀγκάλαις, v. 663, το πολὺ δ' ἐνέσχετ' ἀγκάλαις: τεκνούσθαι μὴδ' ἄπαιδα, v. 690, το τέκνων μήποτ' ἄπαιδα: θράσος ἐκούσιον (ἀκούσιον), v. 732, το ὕμαθ' ἐκούσιος: εὐφρων πόνος, v. 735, το εὐφρων πόνον εἰμ': πλέω λέγειν, v. 797, το πλέω βράγῃ: πολλήν, v. 800, το στόλην: λελημμένης, v. 805, το πεπλεγμένας: δημόδρους, v. 812, το δημόσους: τοῦ ξυνειδόντος χρόνου, v. 823, το τοῦ ξυνειδότης χρόνου: εὐθαρσῆς ἐγώ, v. 858, το οὐ θαρσὺς ἐγώ: μέντοι πάρες γ', v. 871, το μὲν δὲς πάρες θ': προὔνεχθέντος, v. 892, το προὔδέρχθην τ' ἄν: ἐπιστροφωμένου, v. 901, το ἐπισκεπωμένου: ἵξει—θρόνον, v. 909, το ἵξω—πρὸς θρόνον: φρεσίν, v. 922, το φρίκεσιν: ὑγείας, v. 927, το ὑδαρίας: ὄκνος, v. 933, το κέρδος: καὶ ζύγων θιγεῖν βίᾳ, v. 960, το δουλιῶν ζύγων θιγεῖν: καίρια πτώσιμος, v. 1043, το καιρίως πτωσίμου: μελαγκέρων, v. 1048, το μελαγκρόκῳ: ἀμφιθαλῇ κακοῖς, v. 1065, το ἀμφιθαλῇ λαχοῦσ': οὐ γὰρ εὖ λέγει, v. 1108, το οὐ παιώνιος: πάλιν, v. 1120, το πάθῃ: κάρτ' ἄρ' ἂν παρεσκόπεις, v. 1173, το κάρτα τὰρα παρεκόπης: μάτην, v. 1193, το τιτήν: φοιτὰς ὡς, v. 1194, το φοιταλέος: ἥ γὰρ τεκμηρίοισιν, v. 1288, το ἥ κἀντὶ τεκμήρων ἄρ': σφαγὴν, v. 1311, το πνοήν: τόδ' ἐπέθου θύος, v. 1330, το τόδ' ἐθύου θύνος: ἀπέταμες, v. 1331, το ἀπόδαμος: βοτοῦ μόρον, v. 1336, το βοτοῦ γόνον: ἐξύστατον, v. 1385, το αἰκίστατον: διαὶ Διός, v. 1404, το δῦα Διός: ἐκπνέων, v. 1410, το ἐκπνεύσας: ἀπέτισεν, v. 1420, το ἀπετίστατο: πῶ; πῶ; v. 1424, το ποιεῖς: πόρθμευμ' ἀχέων, v. 1471, το πόρθμευμα ῥοῶν: δύσμαχα δ' ἔστι κρίναι, v. 1474, το δύσμαχα δ' ἐστὶ κρίμα: ἰόντ'—τρίβειν, v. 1484, το ἰὼν—τρίβει: αὐτίκ', v. 1509, το μηρί': λάκτισμα—τιθείς, v. 1514, το αἰκισμα—διδούς: εἰρημένον, v. 1533, το ἡρημένον: δεσμός δὲ καὶ τὸ γῆρας, v. 1534, το δεσμός τε γὰρ σκοτεινός: ἄρά που, v. 1559, το ἀλλά που. In other passages the reform is more sweeping. Those who are familiar with the play will perhaps recognize the original of the following:

- (α) τὸ μέλλον δὲ προκλύειν, πρὶν γένοιτο, χαιρέτω.
- (β) δρόσω κατεψέκαζον, ἔμπεδον πίνον
ἰσθημάτων τιθέντε κἀνθηροῦ τριχός (where δρόσω refers to the
two kinds of dew, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς).
- (γ) τούτου γ' ἂν εἰπὼν κεδνὰ κἀληθῇ τύχοις.

- (δ) ἐς αἵματηρὸν τεύχος οὐ διχορρόποις
ψήφοις ἔθεντο· τῷ δ' ἐν ἀντίφ' κύτει
Ἑλπίς προίει χεῖρας.
- (ε) ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθ', ὑπ' ἀρβύλας λύοι
τάχιστά μοι δούλων τις ἔμβασιν ποδός.
ξύν ταῖσδε μὴ 'μβαίνοιμ' ἀλουργέσιν.
- (ς) ἔσω φρενῶν ῥέουσι πείθεται λόγοις.
- (η) περιβαλόντες οἱ πτεροφόρον δέμας θεοὶ
θέσαν γλυκύν γ' αἰῶνα πημάτων ἄτερ.
- (θ) λαμπρὸς δ' ἔοικεν ἥλιός τις ἀντολὰς
φλέγων ἐσάσσειν, ὥστε κύματος δίκην
βλύειν πρὸς αὐγὰς τοῦδε πῆμά μοι πολὺ
μείζον.
- (ι) καὶ μαρτυρῶ σοι προὔμωσας μὴ εἰδέναι.
- (κ) τοιάνδε τόλμαν, θῆλυς ἄρσενος φονεύς,
τολμῇ.
- (λ) οὐ μοι μέλαθρον ἐλπίς ἐμπατεῖν σκότον.
- (μ) ὅς πολλὰ τλᾶς ἐκ γυναικός, βίον
πρὸς γυναικὸς ἀπέφθισεν.

These are all attempts on passages where the reading may be considered to be more or less settled. Of Hartung's contributions to the restoration of the more corrupt parts of the play the following may be taken as specimens: πέφανται δ' ἐκτίνουσα τόλμη τῶν Ἄρη πνεόντων (v. 342): πάρεστι σιγῶς ἀτίμως ἀκοιτόρων ἀδιστος εἰκόνων ἰδεῖν (v. 374): εὐτ' ἂν τὸ κύριον μὲν μελαμφαῆς σκότος (v. 701): πρυμνησίων ξυνεμβόλους ψαμμῆας ἀκτᾶς παρεκδύμενος πρὸς Ἰλιον ὄρτο ναυβάτας στρατός (v. 911): νῦν δὲ τέλειον τόδ' ἐπιδρέψασα πολύμναστον σῶμα καὶ ἀνθερίσασα τόδ' αἶμ' ἀνιπτον· ἢ τις ἄρ' ἐν δόμοις ἦσθ' Ἔρις, δαμνᾶτι ἀνδρὸς οἰζύς (v. 1377). The editor's peculiarities are not confined to his views of the sense or language of his author: they also extend to points of grammar and metre. πρὶν γένοιτο, χαιρέτω, which we just quoted, is surely very questionable syntax. His doctrine of the iambic trimeter is that of the pre-Porsonian school, which appears still to have a few adherents in Germany: thus he writes, ἀλλ' ἄρκυς· ἢ ξύνεννος ἔσται δ' αἰτία (v. 1037), οὕτω τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ὥρμαιν' ἐκπνέων (v. 1310). Similarly his theory of anapaestic verse is pre-Bentleian, as is shewn by his correction of vv. 725 sqq., οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὄμματα φωτός, Ἄ, δοκοῦντ' εὐφρονος ἐκ διανοίας, Ὑδαρεῖ σάινει φιλότῃτι. In another passage (v. 48) he ignores the ordinary rule against an anapaest following a dactyl

in the same dipodia. Nor are our ears quite accustomed to the rhythm of lines like these, ἐμὸν ἐκ τοῦδ' ἔρνος ἀερθέιν, τὴν Πολυκλαύτην Ἰφιγενείαν; ἀλλ' (v. 1438).

On the whole we must say that among the numberless corrections of the text of Æschylus which this volume presents, there is not one which strikes us as true: a few however may deserve the praise of ingenuity, e.g. εὔποτμον παιῶνα φίλως ἐτίμα (v. 218), πολυάνδρου δὲ φεράσπιδες κυναγοί (v. 641), καίουσα λαμπτηρουχίας (v. 819), νεογνὸν ἂν βρέφος μάθοι (v. 1084), τοῦ χρόνου βραβεύεται, v. 1221 (though this use of the middle has yet to be supported), κράτος τ' ἰσόψηφον (v. 1389). We have been speaking throughout, of course, of the editor's own suggestions, not of those which he has adopted from other critics, though it would not be difficult to shew that his judgment has frequently been at fault in borrowing a reading as well as in inventing one.

We earnestly hope that nothing which we have said may be construed into a general reflection on German scholarship. No nation has done, or is doing, so much to enable us to understand the Greek drama. But we have long felt that the text of Æschylus has for some time past suffered at least as much as it has gained from their hands; and though we do not believe that Hartung's book would be thought more highly of in Germany than in England, our recollection of the way in which others have dealt with their author will not allow us to regard it altogether as an isolated phenomenon. Why will not some German scholar edit Æschylus as Schneidewin is now editing Sophocles? Such a work would doubtless have its blemishes; but it would be sure to command lasting respect for its poetical feeling, its critical sagacity, and its terseness and general good sense.

J. CONINGTON.

Hyperides.

WE have perhaps no more remarkable instance of the seeming caprice, which has ruled the destinies of ancient records, than in the preservation of writings of all the orators included in the Alexandrian canon with the single exception of Hyperides. If the thunders of Olympian Pericles have rolled away, leaving

only a faint though noble echo in the pages of the historian—if the brief, pregnant, soldier-like eloquence of Phocion is known to us only by hearsay—if the brilliant, dashing, versatile Demades, the greatest natural orator of his day, has found no fitter representative than a meagre and suspicious fragment—these are losses which were almost inevitable. But of Hyperides we might reasonably have expected to have known more. Of above seventy orations bearing his name, which were in the hands of late Greek critics, at least fifty were judged to be genuine*. He was deemed worthy of a place among the chosen Ten. He was held second only to Demosthenes, and it was the opinion of one of his critics, that if his excellences were not weighed but numbered, he would deservedly be placed foremost in the ranks of Attic oratory†.

Yet his easy and natural mode of handling a subject—his ready half-careless flow of language, so inartistic as to offend the keen scent of later pedants, for whom the Athenians themselves were not sufficiently Attic—his dexterity, his pathos, his elegant railery, above all his inimitable grace, had hitherto been known to us only from a very brief fragment preserved in Stobæus, or conjectured from the criticisms of Cicero, and Dionysius, and Longinus. Recent discovery has furnished us with materials for a more independent judgment.

In the spring of 1847, A. C. Harris Esq. of Alexandria purchased some fragments of a papyrus roll from a dealer in antiquities at Egyptian Thebes. On examination, the majority of these were found to form part of an oration against Demosthenes respecting the treasure of Harpalus, which Mr Harris correctly attributed to Hyperides. Three of the fragments however were evidently disconnected in subject from the rest. The authenticity of these writings has since been established beyond the reach of any reasonable doubt, from the citations in the lexicographers, and from the general style and subject-matter of the fragments themselves.

A facsimile of the MS. was published in the autumn of 1848. Copies fell into the hands of MM. Boeckh and Sauppe, by whom the fragments were edited independently and almost simulta-

* ἐβδομήκοντα ἑπτὰ, ὧν γνήσιοι εἰσι πεντηκόντα δύο. Pseudo-Plut. Vit. x. Att. Fragm. p. 276.
Oratt. p. 849, but others give the num- bers differently. See Sauppe, Oratt. Att. Fragm. p. 276.
† Longinus de Subl. xxxiv. init.

neously before the close of the year. Lastly, an edition appeared about a year later by Mr Babington, who had undertaken and completed it, before he was aware of the labours of the German editors*.

We have not time here to discuss the historical bearing of these fragments, but must pass on to another and more important discovery.

In the spring of the same year (1847), another Englishman, Joseph Arden Esq., purchased from the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Thebes another papyrus roll, which had been discovered in one of the tombs. It was found to be much larger and more perfect than that which fell into the hands of Mr Harris, but in all respects agreeing in character. It contains a portion of a speech in defence of Lycophron, and another entire, in defence of Euxenippus. It was now found, from a comparison of the subject-matter, that the three isolated fragments of the Harrisian MS. were portions of the defence of Lycophron. The two papers originally, without doubt, formed parts of the same roll. The authenticity is established by the same unquestionable evidence, as in the former case.

Mr Arden, on his return to England, had a facsimile of this MS. executed, which was published in the early part of last year (1853), together with a recension of the text, notes, and preliminary dissertations, by Mr Babington†. This was followed shortly after by the edition of Prof. Schneidewin, the learned editor of

* Fragments of an Oration against Demosthenes respecting the money of Harpalus. Published by A. C. Harris, of Alexandria, M.R.S.L., London, 1848.

Neu aufgefundene Bruchstücke aus Reden des Hyperides. Besonderer Abdruck aus der Allg. Lit. Zeit. 1848. Halle.

Die neuen Bruchstücke des Hyperides. Philologus, p. 610. And again in *Fragm. Oratt.* p. 347 sqq.

ΤΙΕΡΙΑΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕ-
NOTE. The Oration of Hyperides against Demosthenes, respecting the treasure of Harpalus, &c. By Churchill Babington, M.A., London, 1850.

† ΤΙΕΡΙΑΟΤ ΛΟΓΟΙ B. The

Orations of Hyperides for Lycophron and for Euxenippus. Now first printed in facsimile, &c. by Joseph Arden Esq. F.S.A. The text edited, with Notes and Illustrations, by the Rev. C. Babington, M.A., F.L.S. &c. Cambridge, 1853.

Mr B. should have assigned his reasons for writing 'Τρεπιδης. The investigations of Kiessling, with the additional remarks of Sauppe (*Fragm. Oratt.* p. 275) appear to us to leave the balance of evidence decidedly in favour of 'Τρεπελδης. Mr B. has a not very explicit note on the subject (κατὰ Δημούσθ. Prel. Diss. p. xxv.).

*Philologus**. From that time the subject has attracted the attention of many well-known continental scholars. Articles from the pen of L. Kayser, (Heidelb. Jahrb., 1853. Nr. 41); A. Schäfer, (N. Jahrb. für Philol. Bd. 68, 1. s. 27 sqq.); L. Spengel, (Münchn. Gel. Anzg. 1853. Juli. Nr. 4, 5.) and Prof. Schneidewin, (Philologus, s. 340 sqq.), are now lying before us. The recension of the text of the Oration for Euxenippus, by Prof. C. G. Cobet, (Mnemosyne. Leiden. 1853. p. 310 sqq.), is known to us only through the medium of the last-mentioned article in *Philologus*.

As it is proposed in the following pages to dwell chiefly on points where we differ from the editors of Hyperides, it is due to Mr Babington to express a more explicit opinion of his labours than his connection with this journal would otherwise have suffered us to do. We therefore cordially subscribe to the commendatory notice of Prof. Schneidewin: "Qui se his reliquiis editorem obtulit vir reverendus C. Babington, munus suum summa cum fide executus est. Sollerter ductus litterarum enucleavit, lacera reconcinnavit, corrupta restituit." And again: "Multum præstitit B. et quæ ab editore principe postulari vel ab iniquis censoribus possint. Messem fecit ille, spicas legere reliquit aliis."

The facsimile, which is admirably executed, will give an additional value to this edition, as exhibiting one of the most important specimens extant of Greek palæography.

We are indebted to Prof. Schneidewin in several instances for the correct reading of the MS. where it has escaped the eye of the former Editor. Thus the substitution of $\delta \dot{\eta}\gamma\epsilon\upsilon$ for $\delta\epsilon \dot{\eta}\gamma\epsilon\upsilon$ (col. 4, l. 23), $\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ for $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon$ (col. 19, l. 11), $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$ for $\delta\tau\iota \acute{\omega}\varsigma$ (col. 21, l. 8), $\dot{\eta}\theta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ for $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ (col. 43, l. 2), $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ for $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (col. 43, l. 27), $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma$ for $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma$ (col. 30, l. 23), and the rejection of $\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ (col. 14, l. 21), will recommend themselves at once. Nor are other passages wanting in which he has suggested an improved reading. But in his edition of Hyperides, as elsewhere, Schneidewin appears to us often to depart needlessly from the written text, and we look in vain for that strict deference to MS. authority, which Cobet discovers and denounces in him as a fault. It is little less than recklessness, where the papyrus is mutilated, to alter the letters still found in the text, as a preli-

* Hyperidis Orationes Duæ, etc. scholia adjecit F. G. Schneidewin. Gottingæ, 1853.

minary to the restoration of those which have disappeared, (see e. g. col. 5, l. 26, col. 6, l. 7, col. 45, l. 25). The Scholia and Dissertations appended by the editor display his characteristic good taste and judgment.

Of the articles above mentioned, those of Cobet and Kayser are the most important for our immediate purpose, the critical examination of the text. The tone adopted by M. Cobet is strongly to be deprecated. For the matter, though his objections are often captious, and his emendations consequently unnecessary, he has yet offered some valuable hints; and it is to be regretted that he has not turned his attention to the more fragmentary of the two orations, where his acknowledged ability would have rendered great service. The most important of M. Cobet's suggestions will be noticed in the sequel. The value of M. Kayser's contribution may be collected from the matter extracted below.

The importance of this recent discovery cannot be denied. As historical records, indeed, these writings must give place to the fragments of Cicero's Republic, to the Institutes of Gaius, or the treatise of Hippolytus on heresies. Beyond the additional information which they contain with regard to the *εἰσαγγελία*, and the elucidation of one or two minor points, the speeches in behalf of Lycophron and Euxenippus are of little historical importance. Even the fragments of the Harpalic orations, though they throw some light on the subject, are far from setting the question of the innocence or guilt of Demosthenes at rest. But the purely literary value of the former will not easily be exaggerated. We have at length a tolerably adequate expression of the oratory of the most charming, if not the most powerful, of the Attic orators. If the celebrated defence of Phryne, or the Funeral Oration, had been disinterred, we should have heard Hyperides in all his glory. But the defence of Euxenippus fairly exhibits the leading characteristics of the orator. Perhaps even the Harpalic Oration, if perfect, would not have represented him in a more favourable light, for his peculiar excellences were especially adapted to minor causes. It was the opinion of Longinus that "if Demosthenes had attempted the defence of Phryne, the contrast would only have been a further recommendation of Hyperides*." The armour of Demosthenes is too ponderous for the

* De Subl. xxxiv. § 3.

light warfare of private suits: if he seldom fails in producing an effect, we are conscious that it is often the result of mere weight. Hyperides, like Cicero, is provided with weapons suitable for light encounters, and wields them with even greater alertness. But they are not poisoned, like those of the Roman orator. If he succeeds by his raillery in driving his adversary from the field, he seeks for nothing more. The wounds inflicted by the biting sarcasms of Cicero could never be thoroughly healed.

There is another question of some interest brought into notice by the possession of these writings. Libanius in his argument to the oration *περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον συνθηκῶν*, commonly attributed to Demosthenes, states his opinion that "it approaches more nearly to the type of Hyperides, for, to pass over other points, some of the words employed are more in accordance with his usage than that of Demosthenes, as for instance *νεόπλουτοι* and *βδελυρεύεται*." Libanius, no doubt, gives one of the characteristics of our orator, but beyond this he is vague. Following up this suggestion, the editors of Hyperides have noticed several phrases and expressions in the newly-discovered speeches which seem to have parallels in the oration in question. But we cannot help thinking with M. Kayser, that though in minor points there may be some resemblance the general character of the oration is decisive against the claims of Hyperides to its authorship. If it is destitute of the power of Demosthenes, it has still less pretensions to the grace and ease of our orator. Longinus justly remarks in reference to Hyperides, *οὐ πάντα ἐξῆς καὶ μονοτόνως, ὥς ὁ Δημοσθένης, λέγει*. The topics in the speech *περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν* are strung together in a singularly monotonous manner.

Before entering, as is proposed, on the critical examination of the text, it will be as well to state some special considerations which ought not to be lost sight of in investigating readings, beyond those general laws to which all texts are amenable. These will in each case depend on the character of our written authorities, and the known style of the writer.

I. The MS. of Hyperides is unquestionably of very ancient date. The superior quality of the papyrus, and the character of the letters, afford the best evidence of its antiquity. In these respects it bears a close resemblance to the MS. of the fragments of Chrysippus and the Codex Bankesianus of Homer, both of

which were also discovered in Egypt: though it is probably more recent than the former. We shall perhaps therefore be not far wrong in assigning to it, as Sauppe has done, a date not later than the middle of the second century before the Christian æra*. If this be true, it is nearly the oldest extant MS. of any classical Greek author; and unless we find special grounds for modifying our opinion, we must consider it the most faithful representation of the original text. Now if we were concerned with the uncorrected MS., this supposition must be at once abandoned on examination, for it is replete with errors. But there has been a careful revision of it, and it is this emended text alone which we have to consider. Yet there still remain even here several errors of a certain class, and it is important to examine how far these are such as to invalidate its general accuracy. The errors which have escaped the hand of the corrector may be classed under the following heads.

(1) Errors of orthography, in most cases probably to be referred to the corrupt dialect spoken by the scribe. (Cf. ἀφείλατο in the Harrisian MS., Fr. 11, which however is corrected into ἀφείλετο). These are chiefly:

(α) The insertion of ι after vowels, as ἐπειτῖ (col. 7, l. 14), αἰζηνιῖα (col. 38, l. 26), δημῖαι (col. 47, l. 20), especially where it serves as an ι subscript.

(β) The omission of ι, as perhaps περιων for περιων (col. 2, l. 12), ἐπεικειαν (col. 11, l. 21), but most frequently in cases where it is usually subscript, as εἰσαγγελια, dative (col. 4, l. 10).

(γ) Substitution of ει for long ι, e.g. μεισεις (col. 32, l. 20), κρεινα (col. 38, l. 20).

(δ) Conversely of ι for ει, as διοπιθη (col. 39, l. 4), καταλιπεται (col. 41, l. 22).

(ε) The last letters of prepositions συν, εν, εκ in composition wrongly written, as συνλεξειν (col. 31, l. 21), ενκλημα (col. 13, l. 9), εγδεδομενην (col. 11, l. 11).

(ζ) The indiscriminate use of the ν ἐφελκυστικόν.

For other possible errors of this class see col. 38, l. 24, καθεστακα; col. 36, l. 29, μολοσσια; col. 48, l. 18, τεμωρη. Cf. col. 25, l. 9. Also col. 44, l. 18, ηργαζετο.

* See Philologus, p. 611 (1848). that of the other editors. See Babington, κατὰ Δημοσθ. p. xix. sqq.
This opinion substantially agrees with

(2) Clerical errors.

(α) Incomplete corrections, as τεταφθαιναι (col. 31, l. 8), ισαγγειλας (col. 39, l. 11), πασητηλικαι (col. 12, l. 18).

(β) A letter or more omitted, ταν for ταιν (col. 29, l. 28). δειωτον for δειωτοτον (col. 41, l. 24). In col. 49, l. 18, δεισθα for δεισθαι, the ι seems to have been rubbed out.

(γ) A letter inserted, εισισασι for εισιασι (col. 21, l. 13).

(δ) A syllable erroneously repeated, αγγελιαναν (c. 40, l. 1).

(ε) A syllable omitted, when it recurs. See note on col. 3, l. 10.

(ζ) An interchange of two similar letters as ην for ηι (col. 46, l. 20); αυζονται (col. 45, l. 20), is scarcely a case in point, as ζ and ξ are hardly distinguishable in the MS.

Col. 9, l. 20, and col. 20, l. 26, will perhaps be thought to contain mistakes of a graver cast.

Errors of the first class are exceedingly numerous; those of the second so few, that the examples given form almost a complete list from the Ardenian MS. From this it will be seen what foundation there is for M. Cobet's imputations on the MS.

II. Hyperides is considered by his severer critics to fall short of the highest purity of style. From their language we may infer, that

(α) His style was unstudied to a degree, which laid him open to the charge of negligence. 'Ο δ' Ὑπερίδης τὸ μὲν ἐπιμελὲς ἥκιστα ἔχει. Hermogenes, III. p. 382 (Walz.). This accords with the notices in Longinus and Dionysius.

(β) He used words, which were considered beneath the dignity or purity of Attic oratory (οὐ λογάδες φωναί. Photius), e.g. Fr. 45 (ed. Sauppe) ἔμβραχυν (Aristoph.). Fr. 83, ὀξύθυμα (Eupolis). Fr. 86, θριπὴδεστον (Aristoph.). Fr. 103, ἀκρατοκώθων. Fr. 163, ἄμφοδον (Aristoph.). Fr. 166, μητρυνός (Theopompus). Fr. 280, κώδεια (Aristoph.). Fr. 287, ὀψαρτυτής (ὀψαρτυσία. Plato, Com.).

(γ) He employed words in an unusual sense, or preferred an uncommon word to its ordinary synonyme, e.g. Fr. 60, ἐγκάθετος = εἰσποίητος. Fr. 224, ἀποδόμενος = ὑποθείς. Fr. 277, καττίεσθαι = ὑποδέσθαι. Fr. 286, ὠφθαλμίασε = ἐπεθύμησε.

(δ) He adopted forms of words or inflexions unusual in writing (though probably not so in conversation), e.g. Fr. 16, πωλή = πώλησις (Sophron.). Fr. 47, μονοπῶλιον = μονοπωλία. Fr. 73, κεραννύειν (Alcæus Com.) Fr. 128, καρπεύειν. Fr. 136, κάθη = κάθησαι

(*κάθη*, Eupolis. *κάθου*, Aristoph.). Fr. 255, *ἀνδραπόδιον*. Fr. 266, *δουλίς*.

So col. 42, l. 18, *σχοίησαν* (*δοίησαν*, Damoxenus Com. cited by B.). Col. 33, l. 17, *χρησάσθωσαν*. Col. 13, l. 1, *δειξάτωσαν*.

The number of words used by Hyperides in common with one or other of the Comic poets, and seldom or never found elsewhere, will perhaps afford a presumption that even his uncommon inflexions belonged to the ordinary colloquial language, and were in no other sense barbarous or unattic. Some of these are noted down above; but it would have been easy to swell the list considerably.

But the conclusions, which seem to follow from this review, are these: *First*, that the MS. is entitled to the highest respect, except in cases of orthography; and *secondly*, that if we were dealing with a more careful writer (as Lysias for instance), many passages might seem to require correction; but here, from the known characteristics of Hyperides, we must expect some looseness in the general style, and some peculiarities of form in particular words.

Thus we cannot agree with M. Cobet in supposing that the passages col. 19, l. 27, sqq.; col. 23, l. 27, sqq.; col. 35, l. 20, sq., with several others, need emendation merely because they hang loosely together, or contain some careless repetitions; nor should we venture decidedly to pronounce that unusual forms, such as *καθέστακα*, *χρησάσθωσαν*, *δειξάτωσαν*, however probable it may be in some cases, are due not to the author, but to the scribe.

The following review of the text contains some readings suggested by Mr Shilleto, which we can only regret are not more numerous. Mr Babington has also kindly communicated his latest views on some passages.

The vertical lines mark the divisions of the lines in the MS. The brackets enclose those letters, which are supplied from conjecture where the MS. is mutilated.

Col. 2, l. 8. τοιοῦτο | γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀριστ[ον] | τουτουὶ πρᾶγμα[τος] προσκα[λεί]τα[ι] B. Schneidewin has ingeniously restored the text τὸ ἀριστ[ωνος] | τουτουὶ πρᾶγμα[ς] [αὐ] | τὸς πρ. κ. τ. λ.

Col. 3, l. 10. ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἰκείοι. S. οἱ οἰκείοι. We have other instances of the omission of letters which recur in col. 15, l. 2. αἱ αἰρίαι (S), col. 30, l. 4. ἴδιον ὄν (Cobet and Patakis), col. 45, l. 17.

Col. 3, l. 16. *ἐν αἰς*. S. wishes to refer this to an antecedent *ἐπιστολαῖς* contained in sense in *ἀπέστειλαν γρ.* At the same time he suggests a doubt as to the correctness of the text. But the *εἰσαγγελία* would probably be headed with the accuser's name, so that the words *Λυκοῦργος λέγει* would be taken from it. Mr B.'s inverted commas seem to be misplaced.

Col. 3, l. 26. *πλησιάσῃ*. S. *πλησιάσει*, in order to avoid the sudden change of mood. The MS. reading however is supported by Plat. Tim. p. 18 E (quoted in the grammars), and by analogous cases of the juxtaposition of different moods. See Paley on Æsch. Choeph. 80.

Col. 4, l. 3. [*τότε*] *ἦκον ἔλεγον*. B. *αν καθήκων*? S. Hyperides would rather have written *κατελθών*.

Col. 4, l. 13. B. [*δηλώσαι*]. Patakis (ap. S. in Philol.) *γνώναι*.

Col. 5, l. 26. B. [*ἀπα*]γόμενος. But this can scarcely be the reading, whether in its technical sense or otherwise. S. *ἀπαγχόμενος*, which is not in the MS. C. F. Hermann *πυγόμενος*. Perhaps the letter read γ is a τ, of which part of the horizontal stroke has disappeared, and the word was *τυπτόμενος*. Mr Shilleto makes the same suggestion with regard to the letter, but reads *σφαττόμενος*. Cf. col. 6, l. 3.

Col. 6, l. 3. Mr Shilleto suggests *εἰρηκ[έναι; τίς οὐ] | κἂν ἀπέ- [σφαξε]*.

Col. 6, l. 5. B. [*τὸ δὲ κεφ*]ἀλαιον, ἀπ[ὸ τῶν δλίγων] | καὶ μικρῶ[ν τούτων δ]ν | εἶπον, *εἰς τοῦτο κ. τ. λ.* This is unsatisfactory. S. reads ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν καὶ μιαιῶν τούτων ὧν εἶπον. Here he confessedly departs from the MS., nor can the words well bear the sense which he assigns to them: "post illa tam fœda et impudenter dicta." Kayser proposes *τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον* ἃ περὶ τούτων καὶ μικρῶ πρότερον εἶπον *εἰς τοῦτο κ. τ. λ.* But we should have expected δ. It would be better to read *τὸ δὲ κ.*, ἀπὸ τούτων, δ καὶ μικρῶ πρότερον εἶπον. But even here *δλίγω* sounds more natural.

Col. 6, l. 22. καὶ ταῦτα [*δοκ*]εῖ ἂν ὑμῖν Ἑ[ρακλῆς] | ἐκεῖνος ὁ μαι- ν[ός]μενος ποιῆσαι [ῆ] | Μαργίτης ὁ πάντ[ων] | ἀβελτερώτατος. Thus the passage will stand if we read Ἑρακλῆς with B. (in the Addenda), and ῆ with S. Schneidewin proposes ῆ *Αἴας* for Ἑρακλῆς, but it is difficult to see what is gained thereby. Nor does there seem to be any great objection to Ἑρακλῆς if we distinguish between Hercules as a character in a drama, and as an object of Athenian worship. That the former is meant here, we may collect from

the use of the present *ὁ μαινόμενος*, which could hardly be said simply of a character in past history. The word *ἐκείνος* again is in keeping. It would not be employed of the deified hero; but the madman of the tragic poets, the glutton of comedy, or the pattern-man of the philosopher Prodicus, would aptly be designated *Ἡρακλῆς ἐκείνος*. At a certain point *ἐκείνος* attains its maximum value. Beyond that it is intolerable, because superfluous.

On the other hand, the letter which stands after *υμνη* in l. 22, does not seem like a *ρ* in the facsimile. But Mr B., on examining the original MS. microscopically, pronounces it either *ρ*, *ο*, or *σ*. The length of the name *Ἡρακλῆς* is no objection, as S. seems to think, for we only supply the same number of letters as are absolutely required in the same space in the line above.

Col. 8, l. 4. B. *ἀπολελ[ῆσθαι]*. S. is probably right in reading *ἀπολελείφθαι*, the other being a very unusual word.

Col. 8, l. 7. B. *ο[ῖμα]*. S. better *οῖσιν*. There are traces of a final letter, which might be either *α* or *ν*, but the question is not indifferent. *οῖσις* is used several times by Plato, whereas *οῖμα* appears to occur first in Plutarch, for we cannot suppose that Stobæus (xxii. 37) is quoting the exact words of Socrates. The elasticity of Hyperides' diction must have a limit. If the views maintained above be true, *οῖμα* is beyond his range. It belongs to the language of philosophy rather than that of common conversation.

Col. 8, l. 12. Mr Shilleto has furnished the correct reading *τούς τε μέ[λλοντα]ς βοηθεῖν το[ῖς εἰ]σιούσι*.

Col. 8, l. 19. B. *ἐνέχει* [κατ' ἐμοῦ] ἐν τῇ κα[τηγορίᾳ]...|δ. The sentence following is much mutilated. K. restores the whole passage thus: *οἶον καὶ αὐτὸς οὐτοσὶ ἐνεχείρησε ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ οὐδ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι τισι τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ συναπολογησομένων διδούς, ὧν δέομαι μὴ ἀπολείπειν μ', ὁρᾶν δὲ πότερ' οὐκ ἔξεστι, κ.τ.λ.* The word *ἐνεχείρησε* was suggested by S., and Mr Shilleto independently conjectured *ἐνεχείρησε νῦν*. The following restoration, though not satisfactory, may perhaps serve to suggest something better: *οὐδ' ἀποδέξασθαι φησι τῶν ᾧπαυόντων ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ συναπολογησομένων διὰ τί δὴ ἀξιοῖς μὴ ἀποδέχεσθαι; πότερ' οὐκ ἔννομόν ἐστι κ.τ.λ.* The letter after *δαπο* in l. 21, resembles an imperfect *δ* rather than a *λ*. For the expression see Lysias c. Nicom. § 1, p. 183. *διὰ τί* is a frequent interrogative in Hyperides.

Col. 9, l. 20. S. rejects ἀκούειν. Insert καὶ before κεύειν with K.

Col. 10, l. 10. Mr Shilleto proposes ὑπερπηδή[σ[as ἀπ]αντας τοὺς | π[ατρι]ους, κ.τ.λ.

Col. 10, l. 20. B. ἐπε[ι]τα | ἐξ[ι]ῆς τραγ[ω]φθίας | γρ[ά]φωv τῇv εἰσ-
αγ[γε]λ[ί]αν ὁσ[περ] νῦν | γέγρ[α]φας. In the Addenda other words are
suggested for ἐξ[ι]ῆς. K. reads ἐξῇ σοι τραγωφθίας γράφειν δέον εἰσ-
αγγελίαν, οἷα σπερ νῦν γέγραφας. Patakis also has ἐξῇ σοι, which is
probably right. Read ἐξῇ σοι τραγωφθίας γρ[ά]φειν εἰς τῇv εἰσαγγελ[ί]αν
οἷας]περ νῦν γέγραφας. Compare Demosth. p. 889, ἃ γέγραφεν οὗτος
εἰς τὸ ἐγκλημα. Also p. 978.

Col. 10, l. 23. B. γέγρ[α]φας καὶ] αἰτιᾷ. K. proposes γέγραφας ὅς
ἐμ' αἰτιᾷ. He continues the sentence thus: ὅτι ταύτῃ τῇ γυναικὶ παρεσ-
κέασα ἄγαμον ἔνδον καταγρᾶσκειν, εἶγε τοιάσδε συνοικεῖν, ὥς φῆς, οὐ προσήκει
π.τ.ν. Read ὅτι ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα ἔπραττον ἄγαμον ἔνδον καταγ. See De-
mosth. p. 888. The next clause seems to have been participial.

Col. 11, l. 21. MS. επεικειαν, and col. 12, l. 9, επεικη. But, as
in col. 26, l. 26, επεικη is corrected to επεικτη, these forms are
probably wrong. S. argues conversely that, as in the two pas-
sages there is no correction, so in the third the correction is to
be neglected. This is surely a strange mode of reasoning. (See
his note on col. 26, l. 26).

Col. 12, l. 20. B. [ἐνδὲ]χεται ἀδικῆ[σαι, ταῦ]τα μὲν δεῖ | [σκοπεῖ]ν
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ | [ἀξιώ]ματος οὐ ἂν | [ἔχῃ] τις. S. reads ἐνδέχεται ἀδι-
κηθῆναι...τοῦ ἀδικήματος, οὐ ἂν ἀδικῇ τις. His note is not quite clear.
The opposition is between those offences which are conceivable
at any time in a man's life, and those which from their nature
are confined to a particular period; the offence in question
being of the latter kind. B. appears to have understood this.
His reading however is not satisfactory. Kayser's suggestion
τοῦ πράγματος οὐ ἂν ἐρᾷ τις seems to give the right sense, but
cannot have been the expression used. The reading of S. is
objectionable on more grounds than one: for *first*, it brings
forward the injured party as the prominent person, in place of
the offender, contrary to the sense of the passage; and *secondly*,
it makes the orator go out of his way to express what after
all is only an idle truism.

Col. 12, l. 27. B. ἀλλ' ἢ πάλ[λαι μοι] πρόσεστιν, but in the Ad-
denda πάλαι τοιοῦτός ἐστιν. S. has τις μοιχὸς ἐστίν. But Mr B. on
re-examining the MS. pronounces that the letter before ο can
only have been τ, γ, or π, and suggests ἀκάθαρτος. The reading

πάλαι τις τοιούτος ἐστὶν does not seem to be excluded by the limits of the vacant space.

Col. 19, l. 24. B. ἐνεγρά|[φθη]. S. rightly ἐνεγράφη.

Col. 20, l. 13. πρὶν—ἐξετάσωσιν. S., we think needlessly, inserts, *ad.* Cobet considers that this correction is absolutely necessary.

Col. 20, l. 15. "Voculam οὐ, quam priora requirunt, posteriora respuunt. Expunge μή et habebis Hyperidis manum—ἡ οὐ· μὰ Δί, οὐχ—." C., to which S. seems disposed to accede. So far from being an intruder, the οὐ appears to us to be almost required in the latter clause.

Col. 20, l. 26. περὶ τοῦ λέγειν μὴ οὐ τὰ ἄριστα. The οὐ is obelized by B. and rejected by S. But, though suspicious, it is not utterly defenceless. If the words meant "in cases where sentiments are uttered, &c." μὴ οὐ would of course be inadmissible: but perhaps they may imply "in the matter of the prohibition against speaking what is not," literally, "about speaking, except where it is for the interests, &c." This consideration will be of little weight with Schneidewin who rejects μὴ οὐ, where it is much more defensible (e. g. Ced. Tyr. vv. 13, 221), and to others perhaps the frequent recurrence of the phrase μὴ τὰ ἄριστα elsewhere, (col. 18, l. 22, col. 23, l. 9, col. 39, l. 21, col. 47, l. 20, cf. col. 40, l. 3), may seem a sufficient proof that it stood originally in this passage also. On the other hand, it is remarkable that here where it does occur it may be in a manner defended, whereas if it had been found in any of the other passages cited, it must have been rejected at a glance. The assumption that all scribes, by virtue of their calling, had an inexplicable partiality for μὴ οὐ is somewhat gratuitous. Considering the antiquity of our MS., the application of such a rule here is particularly ill-timed, unless it can be shewn that the Alexandrian writers also were endowed with this strange propensity.

Col. 21, l. 22. γραφαί. B. with the MS. Both he and Cobet wish to insert εἰς. S. cleverly suggests γράφεται; but the point is not what actually *was* done with the offender, but how he *might* be dealt with. The abruptness of γραφαί seems to be intentional, yet the opinion that εἰς may have been omitted is rendered somewhat probable by the existence of an error (though not uncorrected) on the part of the scribe in this very sentence.

Col. 27, l. 13. The German critics now agree in punctuating the passage thus: διαβληθήσονται ὑπὸ σοῦ. νῆ Δία, τὰ γὰρ. κ. τ. λ.

Col. 28, l. 2. τοῦτ' εἰ μὲν ὑπελάμβανες ἀληθές εἶναι. B. The MS. has ἀληθῆ, but the η is erased and ες is written over. S. restores ἀληθῆ, which he defends in Philologus (ss. 346, 347). He makes a distinction, which we give in the original German: "τοῦτ' ἀληθῆ ἐστίν heisst, diess ist in wahrheit so; ἀληθές ἐστιν, es ist ein wahres, die wahrheit." He has not adduced any analogous passages for an expression which seems not to be Greek; the Platonic phrase τοῦτο ἀληθῆ λέγεις, which he does cite, is plainly inapplicable, for ἀληθῆ λέγεις = ἀληθεύεις, and ἀληθῆ has no syntactic connection with τοῦτο.

Col. 29, l. 28. ποιῆσαι. Cobet πορίσαι.

Col. 31, l. 8. τεταφθαῖναι. MS. The syllable θαι being in smaller character, and reaching beyond the end of the line. C. proposes ταφῆναι. νῆ Δία, δεινὰ γὰρ ἐποίησε: the words inserted however do not help to explain the MS. reading. Kayser, τεθάφθαι· ναί· δεινὰ γὰρ. But the MS. reading appears to be merely a confusion of the two words, τεθάφθαι and ταφῆναι, and S. is probably right in adopting ταφῆναι.

Col. 31, l. 15. εἰαντῶ. Cobet, σαντῶ.

Col. 34, l. 1. αἰτοῖ. Cobet, οὔτοι "hi judices." But it is not easy to see why the judges should be presumed, as a matter of course, to be in the secret. It would certainly be no compliment to them. Retain αἰτοῖ. The orator seems to insinuate that Polyneuctus' own hands were not clean of dealings with Macedonia. This appears to be Schneidewin's meaning also. (Philol. s. 349).

Col. 34, l. 14. προσίωσιν. Which S. explains ὅταν προσίωσιν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. Unless προσίωσι can refer to their entry into the town, which is not very likely, we must read προίωσι, with Patakis and Cobet.

Col. 36, l. 2. κοσμησάμενοι. Patakis κομισάμενοι, which S. accepts.

Col. 36, l. 20. ἡ Μολοσσία. Cobet would reject these words as a gloss on account of the form with σσ, and S. assents. It is highly probable, though not certain, that Hyperides would have written Μολοττία. At all events usage is very arbitrary, especially in the case of proper names. (See Hemsterhuis on Lucian, Jud. Voc. p. 312). In the Oration c. Alcibiadem, attributed to Andocides, (ad fin.), the form Μολοσσία occurs; but the value of this testimony for our purpose, whether the oration be genuine or not, is derived from the fact that Θετταλία is found in the same

clause. Aristophanes has *Μολοττικός*, *Æschines* *Μολοττός*. We have not succeeded in finding the word in intermediate writers. It seems a less violent remedy to restore the form *Μολοττία*, attributing the other to the scribe, than to reject the word altogether. It has nothing suspicious in it except the form.

Col. 36, l. 22. *προσῆκεν*. Cobet and Patakis *προσείκεν*. The reading of the MS. is more vigorous.

Col. 37, l. 19. B. and S. *δοκεῖ*. The MS. reading *ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς*, should be retained.

Col. 38, l. 2. *Palam est excidisse ἢ post κρίνειν*. C. We seem to find traces of this intentional abruptness more than once in these orations of Hyperides.

Col. 38, l. 25. *καθέστακα*. On account of the form of this word, C. suspects *καὶ εἰς ἀγῶνα καθέστακα* to be "additamentum Græculi." The form is not entirely indefensible (see Schneid. pp. xviii. 50), but it is here probably a substitution on the part of the scribe for *κατέστησα*. Traces of a kindred error are seen col. 47, l. 4. The scribe has inadvertently treated Hyperides in the same manner in which Demosthenes has been used by Dionysius. See Dem. p. 117, cited by S.

Col. 42, l. 22, sqq. *ὁ κρινόμενος ἢ σὺ*. S. proposes *πότερος* and *σύ* in his Addenda, but the MS. reading is evidently *σὺ*, not to mention the increased awkwardness in this close juxtaposition of *ύμας* and *σύ*.

Kayser and Cobet suppose a new clause to begin with *κακῶς*, and the former attaches *καὶ πότερον...σύ* to the previous sentence. In their restorations of the mutilated passage following, they have evidently departed from the MS.

Col. 42, l. 25. If the letter before *αἰοι* in the MS is *κ*, the reading may have been *ἀλλ' εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ*, "there are others besides, who, &c.," meaning the judges. But, if the facsimile is trustworthy, it is probably a *β*, and the letters in the text will be *-βαιοι*, or *-βαιοι*, for there seems to be room for an *ι* after the *β*. Mr B. now suggests *ἀλλ' οἱ βάρβαροι*. Spengel also proposed *βάρβαροι*. The sense however seems to us to require *οἱ δυστυχούντες*, "the oppressed." Mr Shilleto is probably right in reading the following words *ταῦτα γ' ἱ[σασι κά]λλισθ', ὅτι*.

Col. 42, l. 26. Perhaps read *ὅτι οὐ[τε πόλις ἐ]στὶν οὐδ[εμία] ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένη*, or as Mr B. now proposes, *ὅτι οὐδέν ἄλλο ἐστὶν οὐδαμοῦ*.

Col. 43, l. 27. Spengel's restoration of the passage appears

to be the most correct, ἀπέ[λιπον [του προ]σέσθαι | τινα τ[ούτω]ν λόγων.

Col. 44, l. 18. The form ἡργάζετο is probably due to the scribe. The value of the testimony of the inscriptions referred to by S. must depend on their date. That containing such a word as ἐξηργήσατο (No. 456) is surely worthless in determining the form which Hyperides would have used.

Col. 44, l. 25. B. εἰς [πρόσοδο]ν. S. better εἰσπράξειν.

Col. 44, l. 27. S. approves Cobet's correction, αὐτοὺς for αὐτόν.

Col. 45, l. 17. "ἐνεργούνται non debbam propagare. Nam vel ultra spatium versus producitur." S. in Add. He accordingly reads ενεργοί >, this mark being frequently added to fill up the line. This seems to be the correct reading. Indeed ἐνεργούνται, in the sense required here, is not tenable. If εἰσι is omitted, we should do well to read αἱ πρότερον ἐκλελειμμένοι with Cobet. See note, col. 3, l. 10.

Col. 45, l. 25. B. τοὺς ἐκ[λογεῖς]. This however is hardly the sense required. S. τοὺς ἔχοντας, which C. receives, though the MS. has evidently κ not χ. Schneidewin himself wavers between this and ἐκτεμένους, which seems too long for the space. Kayser, τοὺς ἐκεῖ sc. ἐργαζομένους. Perhaps τοὺς ἐκείθεν may stand.

Col. 48, l. 20. βραχὺ δέ τι εἰπών. S. accepts Cobet's correction, βραχὺ δ' ἔτι. C. refers to Lycurgus, 146. But ἔτι can be dispensed with, (cf. Demosth. c. Aristocr. p. 691), and τι seems to be required with βραχύ.

Since writing the above, we have heard that Mr Babington has recovered two or three brief fragments of Hyperides among the miscellaneous scraps of papyri purchased from the Arabs by Mr Arden. They will doubtless appear in the edition of the extant remains of Hyperides, which we understand Mr Babington is preparing.

J. B. L.

Notices of New Books.

J. DÖLLINGER. *Hippolytus u. Kallistus u. s. w.* 8vo. pp. vi and 358.
Regensburg, Manz. 1 Thlr. 20 Ngr.

[This work introduces a new element into the controversy on the treatise *Against all Heresies*, published by M. Miller, as representing a Roman Catholic view of the question. It was partly printed before the author was in possession of the Essays of Baur, Gieseler, and Wordsworth; and consequently he devotes one of his later chapters to a re-examination of the conclusions which he had originally obtained, and a fuller refutation of the objections to which they lie open. This circumstance detracts in some degree from the unity of his work, but it gives, we believe, an additional value to his results, as showing that they were derived from an independent criticism of the facts of the case, and are not merely a controversial answer to other scholars.

Döllinger agrees in the general belief that this treatise is the work of Hippolytus, though *not* the Syntagma read by Photius. Like Dr Wordsworth, he makes out this latter point convincingly against M. Bunsen.

After this, however, Döllinger diverges from the common track, and tries to prove that there is no satisfactory evidence for believing that Hippolytus was Bp of Portus—that, indeed, there is no proof that Portus was an episcopal see before A.D. 313—that before the middle ages there is no mention in the West of any such bishop—that in the East he was called *Bishop of Rome* and not *Bishop of Portus*—that the two titles are by no means convertible—that the poem of the Spaniard Prudentius is of no historical moment—that the single ground for the popular notion is drawn from the spurious *Acta S. Aureæ*, dating from the 7th century, and first current at Constantinople. This being made out, he proceeds to explain the position of Hippolytus at Rome, which he supposes to have been this:—after the death of Zephyrinus, Callistus was chosen as his successor; through fear of Hippolytus Callistus abjured the teaching of Sabellius; but new differences arose both in doctrine and discipline, and in the end Hippolytus was chosen Bishop of Rome by a section of the Church in place of the heretical Callistus, and continued to be so regarded even after his rival's death (pp. 100—104).

The historical criticism is followed by an inquiry into the points at issue between Hippolytus and Callistus. Döllinger endeavours to make out that the principles of Callistus in reference to general absolution, the reception of penitents, the discipline of the clergy, and the laws of marriage, were in a great measure necessitated by the condition of the church (c. iii.) In like manner he seeks to establish a position for Callistus between the tenets of Hippolytus and those of Noetus (p. 224); and tries to show that the opinions of Origen condemned at Rome in 231 were connected with those of Hippolytus (p. 257). The whole is concluded by an investigation into some points in Hippolytus' doctrine—his teaching

on the Priesthood—on the “Christian Sacrifice”—on Asceticism—on the descent into Hades.

The outline which we have given will indicate the importance of the work. Many of Döllinger's conclusions may appear to us unsound; but his whole view carries with it a naturalness wanting in every other with which we are acquainted. We must wait to see whether any thing can be added to the old arguments of Ruggieri reproduced by Dr Wordsworth; otherwise the Bishop of Portus must, it would seem, be deprived of his title and translated to the see of Rome.

Döllinger, it may be added, appears to be well acquainted with English literature, and he points out several errors into which Dr Wordsworth has fallen. The most important is one which he shares with M. Bunsen; for both of them cite Peter, Bp of Alexandria during the first ten or twelve years of the 4th cent., as stating (Chron. Pasch. p. 12. ed. Bonn): “And since there is full and demonstrative evidence of this in the holy teachers of the church, we will cite (*παροίσομεν*, yet the Bonn editor retains the version *omittimus*) here a few of their statements. . . . Hippolytus then, the witness of godliness, Bishop of Portus, near Rome,” &c. The quotation from Peter begins at p. 4 of the Chron. Pasch., and cannot be continued beyond p. 9, where Athanasius is called “the great light of the church of the Alexandrians.” This he cannot have been in the year 309. The passage cited from p. 12 contains the words of the author of the Chronicon. Döllinger, does not, however, appear to do justice to the critical ability with which Dr Wordsworth has in many places corrected the text of the fragment which he has published.] B. F. W.

Harpocratonis Lexicon in X. Orat. Att. Ex recens. GUL. DINDORFII.
Oxon. e typogr. Acad. 1853. 8vo. Tom. I. pp. xxxii. and 351. Tom. II.
pp. lviii and 489. 21s.

[Dindorf has used several MSS., both of Harpocraton and of the Epitome, which Bekker had neglected, or only partially collated. Among them are three English MSS., one in the British Museum, one in the Cambridge Univ. Library, and one in the Library of Trin. Coll. Cambridge. The 2nd volume contains Maussac's Dissertation, H. Stephanus's Preface to his *Diatrise in Isocratem*, and Commentaries. Most of the notes of Gronovius, and some of Maussac's have been omitted; those of Hemsterhuis (published by Geel in the *Anecdota Hemst.* Leyden. 1825), have been given entire, as have, with few exceptions, those of Valesius and of Stephanus (on the glosses to Isocrates). Dindorf's own notes are in the first volume. He has used the labours of Pearson (*Advers. Hesych.*), Toup, Dobree, Schleusner, Bernhardt and Sauppe; but he has himself done comparatively little to illustrate his author. For instance, he has not referred the fragments of the Comic poets, the Historians, and the Orators, to their places in the collections of Meineke, Müller, and Sauppe; he has not noticed that *Νικάτωρ* and *ἐπιστάτης*, which words Harpocraton cites from Hyperides's Oration against Demosthenes, occur in the recently discovered fragments. On the name *Νικάτωρ* Valesius quotes an obscure

passage from Aristotle's Rhetoric, which refers to a Nicanor, who cannot be identified (as he assumes) with the Stagirite in Harpocraton; he then adds, "meminit Dinarch. c. Dem. pp. 90 and 92;" a reference which should not have been reprinted, as it is given in the next note of Valerius: "Pro Ὑπερίδης forte Δειναρχος, nam in Dinarchi c. Dem. oratione Nicanoris fit mentio non semel, p. 90." As we now have the passage of Hyperides referred to by Harpocraton, such a note as this can only mislead. The same may be said of Maussac's note, in which he mentions several Nicanors, one of whom lived under Hadrian, while none can be identified with any of those spoken of by Harpocraton.] CH. B.

The Bible in the Middle Ages, with remarks on the Libraries, Schools, and social and religious aspects of Mediæval Europe, by LEICESTER AMBROSE BUCKINGHAM; London, T. C. Newby, 1853, 8vo. pp. 305.

[The author of this volume is a layman and a Roman Catholic. Desirous, it would seem, of winning from us a more favourable estimate of Mediæval Christianity, he undertakes to prove that one of the most popular objections to it is unfounded and absurd. The following extracts will evince the general animus of his production:

"We seek in vain, in the records of mediæval centuries, for any act of the church, in her councils, tending even indirectly, to prevent or impede the reading and diffusion of authentic versions of the unmutilated scriptures," p. 39.

In p. 41, the author is still more explicit:

"It was not until versions of the Bible, held by the church to be mutilated and spurious, had issued from the press, and become disseminated among the people, and false teachers perverting the sense of Holy Writ, had sought to mislead the simple by the citation of corrupted texts of their defective Scriptures in maintenance of their new opinions, that the Church put forth the strong arm," &c.

And in p. 42 we are informed distinctly, that Christendom had no experience of this law until "the sixteenth century." Nay, Mr Buckingham has on this subject made a strange and very startling discovery. He asserts that Roman pontiffs ultimately took a hint for getting rid of the vernacular translations from Henry VIII. of England, or at least that it was left for this redoubted monarch to impose "restrictions which had no existence under the dominion of the Church."

Now we must here join issue with the author, not indeed on points of doctrine, but of fact. It is quite true, that by the statute 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1, the reading of the New Testament in English was interdicted to women and artificers, prentices, journeymen, servingmen of the degree of yeomen or under, husbandmen and labourers: but the prohibition, as the date itself (1542) would shew, was one result of the ascendancy obtained in Henry's later years by Gardiner and other zealots of the anti-reformation school. To them we owe the "Statute of the Six Articles" (the "whip withe sixe stringes"), which they had carried, in the teeth of a determined opposition, two years before. But even if this point were

doubtful, is it not established beyond any question that the law of Henry VIII. had precedents enough in mediæval history? Did Mr Buckingham, for instance, never hear of the important council of Toulouse in 1229? Let us remind him that the 14th canon absolutely condemns the use of vernacular translations, and forbids the laity to read the sacred books in almost any form whatever: "Prohibemus etiam, ne libros Veteris Testamenti aut Novi laici permittantur habere, nisi forte Psalterium vel Breviarium pro Divinis officiis, aut Horas beatæ Mariæ aliquis ex devotione habere velit. Sed ne præmissos libros habeant in vulgari translatos arctissime inhibemus." Labbe, Concil. xi. 430. A still more stringent order was put forth by the provincial synod of Narbonne, which met at Béziers in 1246. When writing of the former, Fleury (Liv. LXXIX. s. 58) says, with manifest embarrassment: "C'est la première fois que je trouve cette défense; mais nous pouvons l'expliquer favorablement, en disant que les esprits étoient tellement aigris, qu'on ne pouvoit arrêter les contestations qu'en ôtant les livres saints dont les herétiques abusoient." Be the worth of this apology what it may, one thing is at least established, viz. that Mr Buckingham has altogether misdated the commencement of the war against vernacular translations. How or why a writer who is well-informed on other points of mediæval antiquities, could have been guilty of this grievous oversight, we do not care to pronounce. If he had fairly weighed the records of the period, he would have been constrained to admit, that from the growth of the Paulicians, Cathari, and Waldenses, *all* vernacular translations of the Bible, good and bad alike, were far too commonly regarded with suspicion. A distinguished man like Gerson, who in many points had shewn himself superior to his age, resisted the translation and diffusion of the Scriptures as a whole: and others (such, for instance, as the canon of Leicester, Wycliffe's adversary,) argued that to give the Bible in the vulgar tongue to laymen and to women, was to cast the "evangelical pearl" before swine.

If, notwithstanding this repugnance, it was actually translated into many of the European languages, and, thanks to Mr Buckingham, we know it was, our inference is the very opposite of his. We see in the vernacular translations a fresh proof that better principles continued to diffuse themselves in many members of the Church, the logical result to which they pointed being the Reformation.] C. H.

History of the Christian Church to the Pontificate of Gregory the Great, by JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A., Vicar of Bekesbourne. London, Murray, 8vo. pp. 528.

[Mr Robertson, in one respect, has more than realized his purpose. He only professes to supply us with "a readable introduction" to the early history of the Church; but with his volume in our hands we are disposed to rank it somewhat higher. It is written by a man who understands the bearings of his subject, and exhibits more than ordinary skill in the construction of his materials: but the features we select for special

commendation are his candour, honesty, and independence in handling controverted questions. See, for instance, the remarks on the celibacy of the clergy, and on the progress of monasticism, pp. 290—316.

The work, however, suffers in our judgment from attempting to fall in with the requirements of too large a class of readers. If Mr Robertson had only written for intelligent laymen, he might have made his book more interesting, and might also have dispensed with not a few of his references: while, on the other hand, it hardly meets the case of the professed student, who will not be satisfied with secondary authorities, and who at least would have preferred the formal and scholastic mode of treatment generally adopted by modern historians.] C. H.

Clementis Romani quæ feruntur Homilies Viginti nunc primum integræ.
Text. ad cod. Ottob. constit. vers. Cotelieri passim correx., eamque absolvit, select. virr. doctt. not. suasque subjunxit A. R. M. DRESSSEL. Gottingæ. 1853.

[The Paris MS., from which Cotelier (whom subsequent editors have followed) published the Clementine Homilies, breaks off in Hom. XIX. cap. 14. Fifteen years ago Dressel discovered in the Vatican Library a MS. containing the twenty Homilies entire. He has since been preparing an elaborate edition of the Apostolic Fathers: but, being interrupted by various causes, has consented to publish the Homilies at once, without waiting to complete his illustrations. The additional matter consists of eleven chapters and a half of Hom. XIX. and the whole of XX. The last chapter conducts St Peter to Antioch, and corresponds with capp. 65—68 of lib. x. of the Recognitions. The latter diffuse recension has four additional chapters, but the completeness of the Homilies is shewn by the word *Ἀμήν*, with which they conclude. The Vatican MS., though faulty enough, exhibits throughout on the whole a much purer text than that of Paris. Dressel justly blames Schwegler for taking Cotelier's text not from the fountain-head, but from Le Clerc's corrupt reprint. Yet to Schwegler are mainly due the scanty notes vouchsafed to us: and he must still be pronounced the most meritorious editor. Abundant work remains for future labourers.] F. J. A. H.

Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theologie u. Kirche, hrsg. von Dr HERZOG.
Stuttgart. 1853, &c.

[To be completed in 10 vols., each vol. consisting of 10 parts, or 800 pages, price 8 Ngr. a part. The list of contributors comprises almost every important name among the Protestants of Germany. Many of the articles are far too slight, containing no references whatever, though such a cyclopædia is chiefly useful as a guide to direct the student to further sources of information. English works, even such as are known in Germany, (e.g. Pearson on the Creed, and Waterland on the Athanasian Creed) are too often neglected. Abp. Abbot has a notice, while Bp. Andrewes is passed over. Still the work is on the

whole of the greatest value. Hitherto 10 parts have appeared, (A—Beicht-Zettel. See a notice by Wagenmann in Reuter's *Repertorium* for Jan. 1854).]

SCHWEGLER, (Dr A.) *Römische Geschichte*. Tübingen, 1853. Vol. I. in two parts, pp. vi. and 808.

[Dr Schwegler began in 1846 the composition of his work, having already prepared himself for the task by previous study. This first volume contains the history of the kings, the second, which will end with the Licinian rogations, may, it is hoped, appear early in 1854. Each main division of the work will begin with an account of the original authorities and of modern investigations. The author fortifies every statement by a most complete and exact citation of authorities, carefully distinguishing the earlier forms of traditions from their later perversions; he writes with great ease and clearness. So masterly a work ought not long to remain untranslated. It cannot be denied, however, that the author's ingenuity has occasionally led him to startling results. Thus (p. 696. n. 1) "If Tarquinius is synonymous with Tarpeius, one is tempted to conjecture that the name of that royal race was merely taken from the name of the Tarpeian hill. What if the Tarquinius were so named by the legend as 'the Capitoline dynasty'?"] J. E. B. M.

BECKER's *Handb. d. Röm. Alterthümer*, fortg. von Marquardt. Leipzig. 1853. Vol. III. pt. 2. pp. vi. and 480. Price 2 Thaler 22½ Ngr.

[Contains the public economy and military antiquities. One more volume in two parts will complete this learned work. Part 1 (by Mommsen) will treat of the legal, part 2 of the sacred and private antiquities.]

Patrum Nova Bibliotheca.

[In the *Journal des Savants*, Sept. 1853, M. Miller commenced a series of articles on Card. Mai's *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, 4to. 6 vols. *Romæ, typis Sacri Consilii propagando Christiano nomini*, 1852, 1853. Vol. I. in two parts (pp. xxxvi. and 534; viii. and 226) contains upwards of 200 new sermons of St Augustine, with his *Speculum* and some other works of his and of other fathers. Fifty of the sermons are in a MS. (Cod. Bobbiensis) of the 6th century: of these, four were condemned by the Benedictines, seven were assigned to Petr. Chrysologus, thirteen are among the acknowledged sermons; and the remainder have strong internal evidence in their favour. Many, however, of the new sermons are utterly unworthy of their reputed author. Among other sources Mai has employed the *Collectorium sermonum Ss. Aug.* of Robert de Bardis (cent. xiv.) and the *Milleloquium* (extracts alphabetically arranged) of his contemporary Barthélemy d'Urbino.

The first part contains also three treatises and the *Hymnus serotinus* (in iambic verse) of Hil. Pict., Greek fragments of St Cyril's commentary

on St Matthew and St Luke, with some smaller ascetic treatises in Latin, among which is a meditation of St Anselm on the *Miserere*.

Part II. opens with a new recension of the *Speculum*, from an uncial MS. (cent. vi. or vii.). This follows exactly the old "*Italic*" version, whereas the MSS. before used have all been revised. We now have for more than 5000 verses of the Bible the authentic text of this version. St John's 1st Ep. v. 7, twice occurs there, so that Tischendorf must retract his statement, that the disputed words are only found "in codd. vulgatæ post sec. x. exaratis, et in quibusdam Patribus inde a Vigilantio Tap-sensi," (sec. vi.) The new *Speculum* agrees with the account of Cassiodorus, who calls it "liber quasi philosophiæ moralis, quem pro moribus instituendis atque corrigendis ex divina auctoritate collegit." It is divided into 144 chapters, each containing the passages of the Bible which relate to its title. In the Imperial Library at Paris are two MSS. of the *Speculum*, one of which (No. 2977 A.) generally agrees with the Cardinal's edition; and occasionally supplies some verses which that wants.

Another MS. (No. 7520) in the Paris Library supplies the opening paragraphs of the treatise *Sancti Aug. nova grammatica*, which were defective in the Roman MS. M. Miller (p. 577) has printed these paragraphs, and considers the work to be genuine.

The 2nd part concludes with a Latin treatise on grammar by *Dynamius*, and 43 hymns from the *Hymnarium Bobbiense*, several of which had been published before. Two indexes, one of matters, and the other of words to be added to Forcellini and Ducange, complete the volume. The rest of the series is devoted to Greek Fathers.]

Sti Greg. Turon. lib. ined. de cursu stellarum ratio qualiter ad officium implendum debeat observari sive de cursibus ecclesiasticis. Nunc prim. ed. recens. vindicavit Fr. Haase. 4to. pp. 51. Vratislaviæ, Max.

[Printed from Cod. Bamberg. HJ. iv. 15. sec. viii. "insignis ille et scriptura longobardica, . . . continens præter Mallium Theodorum et Isid. de rer. nat. duos Cassiod. inst. div. et secularium litterarum libros recte conjunctos et pleniores multisque partibus rectius scriptos quam adhuc editi sunt, ac præterea librum eum, quem dudum periisse creditum nunc primus in lucem profero Greg. Tur. de curs. eccl." The MS. has no author's name, nor has it the title which Gregory (Hist. Franc. x. fin.) gives: "de cursibus etiam ecclesiasticis unum librum condidi." That Gregory was the author appears from many similarities of style and thought between it and his published works, and from the notice of two comets which were followed by great disasters, both observed in Auvergne, and both recorded in the Hist. Franc. iv. 31 and 52. A part of the preface was edited by Haupt with Ov. Halieut. Lips. 1838. The work opens with recounting the seven wonders of art (Noah's ark, Babylon, Solomon's temple, a sepulchre of a Persian king formed of a single amethyst, the colossus of Rhodes, the theatre of Heraclea, mentioned also by Bede, Vol. iv. 12, Giles, the Pharos of Alexandria), and the seven of

nature (the tides, the fruits of the earth, the phoenix, Ætna, the fountain of Gratiopolis, mentioned by Aug. Civ. D. xxi. 7, the sun, the moon and stars). Then follow the courses of the sun and moon, with figures of them and of the constellations, with the months in which they rise and set.]

Demosthenes, De Falsa Legatione. By R. SHILLETO, M.A. 2nd revised ed. 8vo. pp. 215. Cambridge, J. Deighton. 8s. 6d.

[We gladly welcome this reprint of the best English edition of any part of Demosthenes, and the best edition of the *De Falsa Legatione* which has appeared in any language. We have noted a few additional illustrations. p. 343, § 8: "Having with Philocrates received gifts and rewards for all these crimes." See Plut. De Fort. c. 1, p. 97: Φιλοκράτης, λαβὼν χρυσίον παρὰ Φιλίππου, πόρνας καὶ ἰχθύς ἡγόραζε. p. 344, § 11: "The 10,000 in Megalopolis." See Aristot. Fragm. 91 Didot. p. 346, § 19: "The senate-house was full of strangers (ἰδιωτῶν)." See Herm. Staatsalterth. § 127. 2. p. 347, § 21: "ἡμᾶς λαβὼν ᾤχετο." See De Cor. p. 239. 16. p. 350. init. § 32. Dissen compares De Cor. p. 275. 10. p. 355. § 51: "Demosthenes drinks water." See Plut. Compar. Dem. c. Cic. 1. p. 358, § 61: "ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς, favoured them." So De Cor. p. 286. 8. Annot. crit. on § 77. Cf. Cic. N. D. i. § 61. p. 363, § 79. See Herm. Gottesd. Alterth. § 9. 9—12. p. 380, § 141. Dissen compares De Cor. p. 321. 16. p. 386, § 158. See Dissen on De Cor. p. 239. 28. p. 387, § 162. To the instances of the proverb κακῶν ὅλως cited by Leutsch (in his ed. of the *Paræmiographi*) add Philostr. Vit. Apoll. v. 7 § 4, viii. 7 § 3, Bekk. Anecd. p. 43. 31. p. 394, § 186: "How many prisoners I ransomed." See De Cor. p. 316. 4. p. 402, § 218: "οὐτῶσι." See Heind. ad Hor. S. i. 2. 106. p. 405 fin. § 230: "The loudest talkers." See Plin. Ep. ii. 3 § 10. p. 406, § 230: "ἐμφράττει τὸ στόμα." See Wetst. ad Rom. 3. 19. ib. "ἄγχει." Plut. De superst. 1, p. 164 r. p. 412, § 274. See Dissen ad De Cor. p. 243. 16. p. 418, § 275: "ὁ Κρέων Αἰσχ." Dissen compares De Cor. p. 288. 19. p. 421, § 285: see Dissen. ad De Cor. p. 270. 11. ib. "ὑποσχών." See Pseudo-Plut. de puer. ed. 14, p. 10 v. p. 424, § 295: "αὐτῶν ἐνίων." See Sauppe ad Olynth. 3. 11. p. 31, West. ad De Cor. § 12. p. 431, § 321: "Divine honours rendered to Harmodius and Aristogiton." Cic. p. Mil. § 80. p. 499, §§ 388, 389. See De Cor. pp. 313. 21, 319. 12. In the note on § 389, ἐξέπεισον in Plat. Gorg. 517 A. seems to be wrongly explained, "were hissed off the stage." It rather means "were banished." In the De Cor. p. 315. 10, ἐξέπειπτες does mean "were hissed off;" this passage should have been cited here.]

J. E. B. M.

RÜSTOW und KÖCHLY. *Geschichte des Griech. Kriegswesens.*

Aarau. 1852. 8.

["The authors have treated of the ancient artillery with great care and a thorough knowledge of the subject. In the present year [1853] by their edition and excellent elucidations of Heron's *βελουσικά* and Philon's

book περὶ βελουοικῶν, as well as of the above-cited passage of Vitruvius [x. 10. (13)], which has hitherto been given up as inexplicable, they have contributed greatly to the solution of this difficult question. See *Griechische Kriegsschriftsteller. Griechisch und deutsch, mit kritischen und erklärenden Anmerkungen von Köchly u. Rüstow. Th. I. Æneas, von Vertheidigung der Städte. Heron u. Philon, vom Geschützbau. Nebst Anhängen u. Zehn Tafeln Abbildungen. Leipzig. 1853. 8.* Marquardt in the continuation of Becker's *Röm. Alterth.* III. 2, p. 464 n. "Köchly has proved (Herbstprogramm der Zürcher Universität, 1851. Cf. *Gesch. d. Gr. Kriegsw.* p. xvi.) that the *Tactica* of Ælian and of Arrian are only different forms of one and the same book, and belong to the time of Trajan," ib. p. 455 n.]

Correspondence.

I.

IN a MS. of the 15th century, containing treatises of Gemistus, Aristotle, &c., in the Cambridge University Library (Dd. iv. 16), occurs (p. ult.) a distich, ascribed to Euripides, the Tragic poet, a little corrupted, but which should apparently be thus read:

τὸν [δὲ] σοφὸν ἄνδρα, κὰν ἐκὰς ναίῃ χθονός,
κὰν μήποτ' ὄσσοις εἰσίδω (αὐτὸν ὄσσοις προσίδω MS.), κρίνω φίλον.

The lines do not seem to be found in Euripides. Can any one inform me whether they exist anywhere in print? In the same MS. occurs (p. 180 b) a short fragment apparently of some late philosopher: in the margin is written, ἀπὸ φωνῆς Θεοδώρου. It runs thus: ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ ὅλη ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι καὶ ὅλη ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν μερῶν οὐσιωδῶς δηλοῦντι τῇ γὰρ ἐντελεχείᾳ τοῦ φυσικοῦ ὁργανικοῦ δυνάμει ζῶντος σώματος, ὃ δὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ὀριζόμεθα, ταῦτά ἐστιν εἴτε ὅλον τι εἴτε μέρος λαμβάνοιτο ὅτιοῦν. δυναμικῶς γε μὲν ἡ δῆλον ὅτι ἐνεργεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ, ἡ ποῦσα ἡ ἐπιθυμοῦσα ἡ θυμουμένη ἡ αἰσθανομένη, οἷον ἐν τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ (ποῦσα) ἡ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ (θυμουμένη) καὶ ἐν τῷ ἥπατι (ἐπιθυμοῦσα) ἡ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητηρίοις (αἰσθανομένη*), οὐχ ὅλην ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν μερῶν, καὶ ὅλην ἐν ὅλῳ εἶναι φαμέν, ἀλλ' ἐν τισι μέρεσιν.

Now I would gladly be informed whether Theodorus is the author, or whether φωνὴ Θεοδώρου is the title of the book. (See *Aristot. Rhet.* III. 2. οἷον ἡ Θεοδώρου φωνὴ πέπονθε πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ὑποκριτῶν.) If Theodorus is the author, is it Theodorus of Asina? Or, in fine, is the text of the MSS. corrupt? In the MS. immediately follows a passage περὶ βασκανίας, without specification of

* The words in brackets are written over the preceding datives.

the author or the treatise, which occurs in the *Ethiopics* of *Heliodorus*; but the present passage does not, I believe, occur there.

CHURCHILL BABINGTON.

II.

Quotations in Wheatly.

CAN any reader help me to verify the following references in Wheatly on the Common Prayer Book (pp. 189, 198, 453, ed. Bohn)?

Prim. rule of Reformation, acc. to the first Lit. of Edw. VI. 4to. 1688, p. 20.

(Rom. Cath.) Practical Catechism upon the Sundays, Feasts, and Fasts.

Defence of the Exposition of the Order of the Church of England, p. 45.

Wheatly (p. 352) quotes, as from St Augustine's fourth Homily (some editions of Gratian, through whom the quotation comes, read the third), the words "Recte tertio mersi estis, qui accepistis baptismum in nomine Jesu Christi, qui die tertia resurrexit a mortuis. Illa enim tertio repetita demersio typum Dominicæ exprimit sepulturæ; per quam Christo consepulti estis in baptismo, et cum Christo surrexistis fide."

Ely.

W. K. CLAY,

III.

Aristot. Eth. Nic. v. 7.

IN Aristot. Eth. Nic. v. 7. ed. Bekk., there has been pointed out to me a difficulty, of which, so far as I can find, no notice has been taken by recent editors.

The whole passage is as follows:

ἴσαι αἱ ἐφ' ὧν ΑΑ ΒΒ ΓΓ ἀλλήλαις· ἀπὸ τῆς ΑΑ ἀφῆρῆσθω τὸ ΑΕ καὶ προσκείσθω τῇ ΓΓ τὸ ἐφ' ὧν ΓΔ, ὥστε ὅλη ἡ ΔΓΓ τῆς ΕΑ ὑπερέχει τῷ ΓΔ καὶ τῷ ΓΖ· τῆς ἄρα ΒΒ τῷ ΓΔ.

How is τὸ ἐφ' ὧν ΓΔ to be explained? In lack of anything better I would suggest that ἐφ' ὧν has been repeated in this line from remembrance of the line next but one above. Then, if ἐφ' ὧν be here omitted, τὸ ΓΔ will correspond to τὸ ΑΕ.

H. J. R.

Contents of Foreign Journals.

Abhandl. d. Königl. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen. Vol. v. (for 1850 and 1851).—On the Phœnician views of the Creation, and on the historical worth of Sanchuniathon, by Ewald.—On Herm. Korner and the Lubeck chronicles, by Waitz.—The buildings at Nimrud, with appendixes, On the theology of the Assyrians, On the names of Assyrian and Babylonian kings, On the general plan of the excavations, by Grotefend.—On the tribute lists of the Obelisk and Nimrud, with remarks on the arrow-headed writing, by the same.

Fichte's Zeitschr. f. Philos. Halle. Vol. XXIII. Part II. Christology of Aristotle (*Christologische Anklänge des A.*). By Dr V. Mehring.

Gerhard's Denkmäler, 1853. Nos. 56 and 57. Antiope and Dirke, (with plates), by Otto Jahn.—No. 57. p. 106. Works of art relating to the Odyssey.—A note by Panofka on the *hilaras Parca* of Juv. XII. 64, seq.

Gött. Gel. Anz. 1853. No. 181. On Volckmar's *Ueber Justin. d. M. u. s. w.*, by Uhlhorn.—Nos. 184, 185. On Meyer's *Komm. üb. d. Eph. Brief*, by Holzhausen.—No. 185. On Sauppe's *Philodem. de vit.* Lib. x. Leipz. Weidmann, by Schneidewin.—No. 186. On Ewald's *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.*, by H. E.—Nos. 194—197. Spiegel's *Gram. d. Pârsisprache*, by Dr Martin Haug of Tübingen.—No. 197. Hertz's Gellius, (Teubner's Classics), by Lion. [Hertz is engaged on a critical ed. of Gellius.]—Nos. 202, 203. A notice by Dörner of his *Person Christi*.—Nos. 203, 204. Comment. Philol. III.... a C. G. Cobet, 8vo., Amst. Müller, by Schneidewin. [In Herod. vi. 57, for the enigmatic *καρπούχου παρθένου* Cobet reads *καρούχου*, Dor. *καρούχου* (*κύριος*, Hesych.)]—Nos. 206—208. Meyer's *Komm. üb. Matth.* 3rd ed., by Holzhausen.

Heidelberger Jahrb. 1853. No. 55. On *Origenis Philosophumena*, &c. [A very slight notice: the anonymous writer thinks the book was a joint composition of Origen and Hippolytus.]—No. 56. On Bormann's *altlatinische chorographie u. Städtegesch.*, by Kortüm. [Speaks highly of its research.]—Von Hammer's *Literaturgesch. d. Araber*.

Hoefler's Zeitschr. f. d. Wissensch. d. Sprache. Vol. IV. pt. 1. System of Vocal Sounds, by K. Heyse.—On the application of the words *θέσις* and *θετικὸς* in the grammarians, and on the appellation of the so-called positive degree, by Prof. Schmidt.—On the strengthening of the prefix of Greek words (*Verstärkung des Anlauts*, &c.), by Savelsberg.—On Latin Etymology [*Aurora*, *aurum*, *uro*, *honor*, *onus*, *ninguo*, *pinguis*, *unguo*, *orbis*, *urbs*, *urbum*, *venio*], by Crecelius.—On the *carmen fratr. arval.* and on the change of *c* into *g* [as in *ecclesia*, *église*, *crassus*, low Latin *grassus*, Fr. *gras*,] and on the change of *ct* into *tt* in the Romance language, by the same.

Illgen's Zeitschr. f. d. historische Theologie. 1854. No. 1. Hamburg and Gotha.—On the fates of Augustinianism from A.D. 529 to the reaction of Gottschalk in its favour, by Wiggers.—The controversy respecting Rahtmann, by Engelhardt.—The removal of the theol. faculty from Tübingen to Marburg. A.D. 1564, by Heppe.

Jahrb. des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande. (Vol. x. pt. 1.) The *Ala Indiana*, by Aschbach.—Roman Antiquities in Cologne and in Eifel, by Braun and Bergemann.—Inedited inscription [*Mercurio et Rosmerte*(æ) L. Servandus Quietus ex voto in suo p.(osuit)] in the collection of M. Bandel at Worms, by Freudenberg.—Corn. Verus Tacitus, by Braun.—On Rom. Inscr., by Becker.

Jahn's Jahrb. Vol. 68. part 4. On Bopp's *Vergl. Gramm.* (concluded in part 5), by Corssen.—On recent mythological works, by Preller.—On Lhardy's *Herodotus*, by Dietsch.—On Müller's *Platon's sämmtl. Werke*, by Susemihl.—On Gumpach's *Die Zeitrechnung d. Babylonier u. Assyrier*, by Bähr.—On recent Essays on Homer, by

Sengebusch, part 5.—On Friedländer's *Die Homerische Kritik. von Wolf bis Grote*, by Düntzer.—In the 19th Supplement, part 1. Various readings of cod. Paris. A. on *Plat. Resp.*, by Fr. Dübner, (concluded in part 2.)—On the *Inventum Varronis*, by Elster.—On the Greek moods and tenses, by Aken.—On *οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ*, &c., by Lieberkühn.—On Pers. Sat. V., by Häckermann.—A fragment of Trogus Pompeius, [corresponding to Justin III. 2. §§ 6—12, preserved in the *De ludo scaccorum* of Jacobus de Cessolis. II. 4. ad fin.] by Sascke.—On Cicero's Letters, by Klotz. Part 5. On an inedited coin of Tius in Bithynia, by P. Becker.—Specimen of a new ed. of Apicius, by Schuch and Wüstemann.—On the *prænomen* and *cognomen* of Plautus, and on the genuineness of his works, by Geppert.—On passages of Tacitus, by Nolte.—On the acquaintance of Greeks and Romans with the Slaves, by Neugebaur.—On the work *De orig. gentis Rom.*, by Roth.—On Aurelius Victor, by Mähly.—On Virg. G. I. 147, seq., by Klotz.

Journal des Savants, Nov. 1853. On the Excavations of Capua, Art. 7th (and last), by M. Raoul-Rochette.—Tillemont's Life of St Louis, Art. 5, by M. Avenel.—The Academy adjudged its first medal to M. Maximilien de Ring, for his work: *Mémoire sur les établissements rom. du Rhin et du Danube, principalement dans le sud-ouest de l'Allemagne*, 2 vols. 8vo.—Dec. 1853. On Coussemaker's *Histoire de l'Harmonie au moyen âge*, Art. 1, by M. Vitet.—The Pnyx and the Pelasgicum at Athens, by M. Raoul-Rochette. [A review of the tracts of Welcker and Ross, in which Welcker's views are opposed.]—On Langlois's translation of the Rig-Véda, Art. 5, by M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire.—A short notice of a tract *Sur les fouilles de Vieux (Calvados)*. (Paris. Hachette), which gives an account of the discovery of 150 coins, and other antiquities.—A notice of a republication from the Memoires of the Turin Academy of an article *Sopra alcune antichità sarde ricavate da un manoscritto del xv secolo*, by Lieut. Gen. della Marmora. 4to. pp. 154. Turin at the Royal Press, 1853. [Contains many figures and inscriptions illustrating the history of Sardinia, of gnosticism, and of antiquities.]

Mémoires de l'Institut de France, Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres. Tome XIX. Deuxième partie. Imprimerie impériale, 1853. 4to. 21 fr. 1. Mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue, par M. Berger de Xivrey.—2. Mémoire sur les fragments du premier concile de Nicée, conservés dans la version copte, par M. Lenormant.—3. Observation sur une inscription relative à des esclaves fugitifs, trouvée dans l'Acropole d'Athènes, par M. H. Wallon.—4. Note relative aux fragments du concile Œcuménique d'Ephèse, conservés dans la version copte, par M. Lenormant.—5. Mémoire sur la divinité Védique, appelée Soma, par M. Langlois.—6. Mémoire sur la spoliation des biens du clergé attribuée à Ch. Martel, par M. Beugnot.

München gelehrte Anzeigen. Nov. 1853. Nos. 59—61. On Elster's *Excerpta ex Plin.* Lib. xxxv. By L. v. Jan.—Nos. 61—67. On Hermann's *Æschylus*, by Kayser. In Nos. 4 and 5 for July 1853, is a short notice of the new orations of Hyperides, by Spengel.

Revue Archéol. 15 Nov. 1853. The chorus of the *Rane* by J. P. Rossignol.—M. Victor Langlois on some inedited coins of the kings of Lesser Armenia in the middle age.—Note on Dem. De Cor. p. 280. 14. (the month Lous, Boedromion or Panemus), by Lowenstern. Excavations at Bazoches-lès-Hautes, canton de Janville (Eure et Loire), discovery of a pottery of the Roman times. Many figured fragments of jars, bronze coins of Didius Julianus, of Moesa, and of Hostilianus.—Dec. 15. Application of Astronomy to Chronological researches. By de Villiers du Terrage.—The *Dunuk-Dasch*, tomb of Sardanapalus, at Tarsus. By V. Langlois.—Three inscriptions of Constantine, by Léon Renier. [Correcter copies of the inscr. in Corp. Inscr. Gr. III. p. 1242, n. 5366 B, and the two n. 5366.]—On a Greek Inscription, [above, p. 96 seq.]—Excavations at Avignon [sculptures, fragments of trophies, fragments of inscr., one bilingual Gr. and Lat.], and at Larcay, near Tours.

Revue Numismatique. Sept. and Oct. 1853. Blois. On the classification of the silver coins of the Lagidæ, by Fr. Lenormant.—On the coins of Charlemagne, by E. Cartier.

Reuter's Repertorium f. d. theol. Litteratur. Jan. 1854. Berlin.—On Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*, by Wagenmann.—On Schäfer's *De l'influence de Luther sur l'éducation du peuple*. Paris. 1853, by Kämmer.

Rheinisches Museum. N. F. Vol. IX. pt. 2. A newly-discovered Greek chronological Table, by Henzen.—On Hermann's *Æschylus*, by Welcker and Prien.—New fragments of Heraclitus, by Bernays.—On works of art, by Welcker.—The geographical work of Julius Honorius, by J. Brandis.—Inedited additions to the Latin Anthology, by Mommsen and Aschbach.—On the Etymology of Alamanni, by * * *.—On the termination -as for -ans in Lucretius, by Koch.—On the hymns of Dionysius and Mesomedes, by Bergk.—On Babrius, by Hitzig.—Punic words in Plautus, by Wex.—On Pliny, by Otto Jahn.

Schneidewin's Philologus. Vol. VIII. pt. 2. On the difference of Rhythm in the different books of the Iliad, by B. Giseke.—On Dio Chrysostom, by M. Schmidt.—De Aspasia Milesia Comm., by T. A. Mähly.—Dionysius the Thracian, by M. Schmidt.—Epist. de partic. ἡδὴ et ὁῆ, by H. Heller.—Seneca and his philosophical writings, by H. Lehmann.—On the relative dates of the *Symposia* of Xenophon and Plato, by K. Fr. Hermann.—Hyperidea, by F. W. Schneidewin.—On the Fragments of Arrian's Parthica, by A. v. Gutschmid.—Stat. S. i. 2. 174, seq., by C. Volekmar.—Emendata in Tac. Ann. et Hist., by Ed. Wurm.—On the attribution to mortals of the names of the Muses, by J. Becker.—A rejoinder by W. Teuffel to Kock's defence of his Aristophanes.—The death of Euripides and a note on Liv. II. 50, [where for the corrupt *prope puberem etate*, he reads from Aurel. Vict. de vir. ill. c. 14. *propter impuberem etatem*], by Ed. Woelfflin.

Studien u. Kritiken. 1854. No. 1. Hamburg.—On the position of Kades and the history of the Israelites in the wilderness as connected with it, by Fries.—On the trespass offering, by Riehm.—On the history of Israel after the captivity, according to the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, by Vaihinger.

Theol. Jahrb. von Baur u. Zeller, 1854. Vol. XIV. part 1. The Gnostic system of the book *Pistis Sophia*, by Köstlin.—The *Philosophumena* and Marcion, by Volekmar.—Contributions to the Criticism and Interpretation of the N. T., by Hitzig. [On James iv. 5, 6; 1 Cor. xi. 10; Eph. v. 14.]

Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung auf d. Gebiete d. deutschen, griech. u. lat. hrsg. v. Dr. Adalbert Kuhn. 3rd year, pt. 3, Berlin. Etymologies of ἡμέρα, ἡώς, ἑσπέρα, αἶριον, ὄψε, by Ahrens.—On the language of the Getæ, by Leo.—Latin etymologies, by Aufrecht. [He connects *haruspex* with *hariolus*, the two words being often found together (Plant. Mil. Glor. III. 1. 99; Amph. v. 2. 2; Ter. Phorm. IV. 4. 24), *haru-* with *χολός* and *χόλιξ*, with the old Norse *gar-nir* f. pl. entrails; with the Sanscrit *hirá*, the intestines; and with the Latin *hira*. He also proposes a derivation for *pejor* and *pessimus*.]—The Oscan *tabula Bantina*, by Schweizer. [A notice of Kirchhoff's *Das Stadtrecht von Bantia*, Berlin, 1853; and Lange's *Die oskische Inschrift d. tab. B.* Göttingen, 1853.]

Zeitschr. f. d. Alterthumswissenschaft, hrsg. v. Cæsar. Nov. 15, 1853. Wetlar. On the MSS. of Pausanias, by Schubart.—Did Cleisthenes reform the Phratries? by Rieger.—Greek Oracles, by Wolff. [Most of the oracles, lately published, as if for the first time, by Piccolos, had already appeared.]—On Rüstow and Köchly's *Gesch. d. gr. Kriegswesens*, by Bergk.—On Rinck's *Religion d. Hellenen*, by Gerlach.—On Aufrecht's *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung*, by Schweizer.—On Halm's *Cic. p. Mil.*, *p. Ligar.*, and *p. Deiot.*, by Tischer.—Reply to Teuffel's criticism of his ed. of the *Clouds*, by Kock.

Zeitschr. f. d. gesammte lutherische Theol. u. Kirche, v. Rudelbach u. Guericke. 1854. No. 1. Leipzig. The first Ep. of Clem. Rom. to the Corinthians. Art. 2, by Gundert.—Attempt at a restoration of the *Canon Muratorianus*, by Bötticher. Among the notices is one by Rudelbach (pp. 137—149) of Baur's *Die Epochen d. Kirchl. Geschichtsschreibung*.

List of New Books—English.

- Æsch. Prom. with short English Notes, for the use of Schools. 18mo. pp. 82. Oxford, Parker. 1s.
- Blackie (Prof. J. S.) on the Living Language of Greece, and its utility to the Classical Scholar. 8vo. pp. 36. Edinburgh. 1s.
- Clinton, (H. F.), *Epitome of the Fasti Roman.* 8vo. pp. iv. and 524. Oxford University Press. 7s.
- Donaldson, (James), *Modern Greek Grammar*, for the use of Classical Students. Edinburgh, Black. 12mo. pp. 48. 2s.
- Ebrard, *Commentary on the Hebrews*. Translated by Fulton. 8vo. pp. 430. Edinburgh, Clark. 10s. 6d.
- Ellis, R., *A Treatise on Hannibal's Passage of the Alps*, in which his Route is traced over the Little Mont Cenis. With Illustrations. 8vo. pp. vii. and 188. Cambridge, Deighton. 7s. 6d.
- Ephraem Syrus, *Repentance of Nineveh; a Metrical Homily on the Mission of Jonah*. Translated by Dr. Burgess. 8vo. pp. 300. London, Blackader. 10s.
- Euripides, Iph. Taur. Small 8vo. pp. 216. (Arnold's School Classics, translated from Schöne). London, Rivington. 3s.
- Fairbairn, (Rev. P.), *The Typology of Scripture, &c.* 2nd Edition. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 1000. London, Hamilton. 18s.
- Gieseler's *Ecc. Hist.* Translated by Rev. J. W. Hull. Vol. IV. 8vo. pp. 430. Edinburgh, Clark. 10s. 6d.
- Hamilton, (Sir W.), *Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, &c.* 2nd Enlarged Edition. 8vo. pp. 832. London, Longman. 21s.
- Horace, *Life of*, by Dean Milman. 8vo. pp. 200. With Woodcuts, &c. London, Murray. 9s.
- Justinian, *The Institutes*. With English Introduction, Translation, and Notes. By T. C. Sanders. 8vo. pp. 614. London, J. W. Parker. 15s.
- Macmichael, Rev. J. F. *New Testament*, with English Notes, &c. 8vo. pp. 726. London, Bell. 7s. 6d.
- Mason (Rev. P. H.) and Bernard (H. H.), *Hebrew Grammar, with Exercises*. 8vo. 2 Vols. pp. 1000. Cambridge, Hall. 25s.
- The Elements. 5s.
- Maurice (Rev. F. D.), *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*. Part I. 3rd Edition. 8vo. pp. 260. London, Griffin. 5s.
- Modern. The First Six Centuries. 8vo. pp. 157. 3s. 6d.
- Ovid's *Fasti*, by F. A. Paley. 12mo. pp. 270. London, Bell. 5s.
- Pelle, (Dr. T. W.), *Annotations on the Epistle to the Romans*. 2nd Edition. 8vo. pp. x. and 252. London, Rivingtons. 7s. 6d.
- Pillans, Prof., *Elements of Physical and Classical Geography*. 12mo. pp. 200. Edinburgh, Blackwood. 4s.
- Robertson, (Rev. James Craigie), *History of the Christian Church to the Pontificate of Gregory the Great, A.D. 590, &c.* 8vo. pp. 528. London, Murray. 12s.
- Schaff, (P.), *History of the Apostolic Church; with a general Introduction to Church History*. Translated [with the Author's help] by E. D. Yeomans. 8vo. pp. 684. (London, Trübner and Co.). 16s.

- Smith, (Dr. W.), History of Greece for Schools. 12mo. pp. 632. London, Murray. 7s. 6d.
- Smith, (Dr. W.), Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography. In 2 Vols. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. xi. and 1108. London, Murray, and Walton and Maberly. 36s.
- Soph. (Ed. C. with short English Notes for the use of Schools. 18mo. pp. 96. Oxford, Parker. 1s.
- Trench (Rev. R. C.), Notes on the Miracles of our Lord. 4th Edition. 8vo. pp. 470. London, J. W. Parker. 12s.
- Trollope (Rev. E.), Illustrations of Ancient Art, selected from objects at Pompeii and Herculaneum. 4to. London, Bell. 25s.
- Xenophontis Hist. Gr. Ex rec. et c. annot. Lud. Dindorfii. Ed. sec. auct. et emend. 8vo. pp. lxxv. and 503. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 10s. 6d.
- Xenophon. The Anabasis. With Notes, Index of Names, and a Map, for the use of Schools. By J. T. V. Hardy and E. Adams. 8vo. pp. 240. London, Walton and Maberly. 4s. 6d.

Foreign.

- Adambuch, das christliche, d. Morgenlandes. Aus d. Æthiop. m. Bemerk. übers. von Prof. Dr. A. Dillmann. 8vo. pp. 144. Göttingen, Dieterich. 20 Ngr.
- Æthici Istrici cosmographiam ab Hieronymo ex Gr. in Lat. breviarium redactam sec. cod. Lips., separato libello expressam prim. ed. Henr. Wultke. Acc. 2 tab. 4to. pp. cxxxv. and 136. Leipz. Dyk. 2 Thlr.
- d'Alor, die Ruinen v. Pompeii. Aus d. Franz. Mit e. grossen, die Ausgrabn bis 1851 umfassenden (lith.) Plane (in Fol.) 8vo. pp. viii. and 55. Berlin, C. David. 20 Ngr.
- Anthologia lyrica, cont. Theognidem, Babrium, Anacreontea cum cet. poet. rell. sel. Ed. Th. Bergk. 8vo. pp. xvi. and 437. Leipz., Reichenbach. $\frac{3}{4}$ Thlr.
- Aristophanes. Erkl. v. Thdr. Kock. Die Ritter. 8vo. pp. 187. Leipz. Weidmann. 12 Ngr. [The first part was justly censured by Teuffel: see however Kock's defence in Schneidewin's Philologus].
- R. Enger üb. d. Parab. d. Wolken. 4to. pp. 21. Ostrowo. (Breslau, Gohorsorky). 5 Ngr.
- Aristoteles. Bonitz üb. d. Kateg. des A. [Repr. from the Trans. of the Academy]. 8vo. pp. 57. Wien, Braumüller. 10 Ngr.
- Benlé, l'Acropole d'Athènes. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 356. Paris. Didot. 11s.
- Bibliotheca Patr. Gr. dogmatica. Ad opt. libr. fidem edendam cur. J. C. Thilo. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. vii. and 735. Leipz. Weigel. [Contains select works of St Basil and St Greg. Naz. &c.] $4\frac{3}{4}$ Thlr.
- Blumberger, üb. d. Frage v. Zeitalter d. heil. Rupert. [Repr. from the Archiv f. Kunde östr. Geschichtsqu.] 8vo. pp. 40. Wien, Braumüller. 6 Ngr.
- Böhringer, d. Kirche Christi u. ihre Zeugen, od. d. Kirchengesch. in Biographieen. Vol. II. (Middle Age), Part. II. [Pet. Abelard, Heloise, Inn. iii., Francis of Assisi, Elizabeth of Thuringia]. 8vo. pp. xii. and 663. Zürich, Meyer u. Zeller. 2 Thlr. 25 Ngr.
- Braun, griech. Götterlehre. In 2 Books. Book II., Part II. 8vo. pp. xiv. and 443—732. Hamburg and Gotha, Perthes. The work complete, 3 Thlr.
- Brinckmeier, Glossarium diplomaticum zur Erläut. schwieriger, e. diplom., histor., sachl. od. Worterkl. bedürftiger latein., hoch- u. bes. niederdeutscher Wörter u. Formeln, welche sich in öffentl. u. Privaturk., Capitular., Gesetzen, &c., d. gesammten deutschen Mittelalters finden. Fol. Vol. I., Part XII. pp. 521—564. (Comitania—Cultellus). Hamburg and Gotha, Perthes. 1 Thlr.
- Charpentier, J. P. Études sur les pères de l'Eglise. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 896. Paris, veuve Maire-Nyon. 12 fr.

- Carnuntum. Sacken, das röm. Stadt C., ihre Gesch., Überreste, u. s. w. 8vo. pp. 127, with Plates in fol. Wien, Braumüller. 2 Thlr.
- Id., üb. d. neuesten Funde zu C., bes. üb. d. Reste e. Mithräums u. e. Militär-Diplom v. Kaiser Trajan. 8vo. pp. 31. ib. 25 Ngr. [Repr. from the Trans. of the Acad. 1852 and 1853.]
- Carystus. Hopf, urk. Mittheilungen üb. d. Gesch. v. Karystos auf Euböa 1205—1470. [Repr. from the Trans. of the Acad.]. 8vo. pp. 54. Wien, Braumüller. 10 Ngr.
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THE JOURNAL
OF
CLASSICAL AND SACRED PHILOLOGY.

I.

The Sophists.

"Nescio quomodo dum lego assentior : quum posui librum et mecum ipse cogitare ceppi, assensio omnis illa elabatur."—Cic. Tusc. Disp.

THE 67th chapter of Mr Grote's History of Greece, which is chiefly occupied with a discussion of the position and character social and philosophical of the class of men commonly known by the name of "Sophists," is probably the most universally popular portion of that brilliant work. In it the application of modern notions and modern usages to the elucidation of Greek history and the peculiar phenomena of Greek social life is carried perhaps to its highest point. Nowhere in the whole work is a greater array of various learning brought to bear upon the solution of a difficult problem, or a more comprehensive survey taken of a question from all its different points of view. Nowhere is greater ingenuity shown in giving a novel aspect to a trite and worn-out subject, and the new conclusions invested with a more specious plausibility. It is I presume owing principally to these causes that the Reviews and other periodical arbiters of public taste and opinion have singled out this particular chapter for especial commendation. I cannot but feel that it is somewhat presumptuous in me to raise my solitary and feeble voice in opposition to this universal chorus of praise: but if the views which have called forth this applause be erroneous, the novelty and ingenuity by which they are recommended furnish only an additional reason for attempting to expose their error; and the approbation with which they have been received renders it additionally incumbent upon all who are interested in the

investigation of historical truth to endeavour to set the matter in its true light.

It may be thought that if the attempt were to be made at all it should have been made earlier, Mr Grote's eighth volume having been three or four years before the world. However, though this is a matter hardly worth an explanation, I may say, that on the first appearance of the volume, from the cursory perusal which I then bestowed upon this portion of it, I was led away, like so many others, by the plausibility of its reasoning: and it was not until recently, when I became more intimately acquainted with its contents, that I saw reason to entertain doubts of the soundness of its conclusions, which further researches into the subject have only developed and confirmed.

I desire to speak of Mr Grote with the respect due to the great name which he has made himself in literature, and the important services which he has conferred upon Greek history; and I trust that he himself, whose candour and courtesy I have already experienced, will excuse me if, whilst I bear fully in mind the vast distance which separates the critic from the author of a great work, I venture to controvert his positions, and to point out the defects which I believe to exist in his argument.

Mr Grote, who usually pretty nearly exhausts any subject which he takes in hand, has supplied me with no inconsiderable portion of the materials for my criticism. There are however several passages bearing upon the question, some of great importance, which he has either altogether omitted, or only slightly referred to: but I am bound to acknowledge that he has put into my hands not a few of the weapons which I am about so ungratefully to employ against himself.

Having made these acknowledgements, which are no more than what are due to the learning and ability of the work under consideration, I proceed to enter upon the task that I have undertaken.

The main points in which Mr Grote's representation of the Sophists differs from the view commonly held are enumerated in a summary by a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, which Mr Grote accepts as a fair statement of his general drift, p. 549, not. They are that the Sophists were not a sect, i. e. had no common doctrines or philosophical creed—but a class or profession; were united, that is, only by the common *object* which they had in

view, viz. the instruction of youth in virtue rhetoric and philosophy or general information : that they were not propagators of demoralizing doctrines or sophistical argumentations : that they were the regular authorized teachers of Greek morality, neither above nor below the standard of the age : that there was no essential difference between them and Socrates, who was distinguished from them merely by his higher eminence and the peculiarity of his life and teaching : to which may be added—if I fully understand the purport of Mr Grote's argument on this part of the subject—that the name Sophists was used of them and other teachers in the same sense except by Plato, who affixed to it a new signification for their especial benefit.

Without venturing to infer from the almost unanimous consent of preceding writers that any deviation from their view must necessarily be an error ; and fully admitting the ingenuity shown by Mr Grote in making out his case, and the new light he has thrown in this as in other cases on Greek history by attracting attention to points which had escaped notice, and by reopening questions previously held to be settled beyond the reach of controversy, but really requiring further examination ; I still cannot help thinking that here as elsewhere he has done rather more than justice to the characters which he wished to 'rehabilitate,' and in the endeavour to avoid one extreme view—that of Stallbaum, Ast, and other Platonic commentators as well as historians of philosophy—he has been carried too far in the opposite direction.

I do not pretend to maintain that there is no exaggeration in the view which represents the Sophists as "ostentatious impostors *flattering and duping the rich youth for their own personal gain*, undermining the morality of Athens public and private, and encouraging their pupils to the unscrupulous prosecution of ambition and cupidity," p. 485—though at the same time it may be observed that this is not very far from the character given of them in Xen. de Venat. c. 13—and again (p. 509), "It has been common with recent German historians of philosophy to translate from Plato and dress up a fiend called 'die Sophistik,' whom they assert to have poisoned and demoralized, by corrupt teaching, the Athenian moral character. So that it became degenerate at the end of the Peloponnesian war compared with what it had been in the time of Miltiades and Aristides."

I entirely agree in Mr Grote's observations upon the supposed deterioration of the Athenian character at the end of the 5th century B. C., and I believe with him that the Athenians had in no respect degenerated during the course of that century. The supposition of such a degeneracy and corruption has doubtless arisen partly from a too literal interpretation of the fond expressions in which the succeeding poets and orators contrasted their own evil times with 'the good old days' of Marathon and Salamis; and partly also from the fuller information that we happen to have about their private life and public conduct at the later than at the earlier period: the increased light thus thrown upon them, and the narrower scrutiny which we are enabled to bring to bear upon the object of our examination, brings out their weak points, and tells as ill upon their character as a minute biography usually does upon that of an individual: in short, the fickle volatile litigious objects of Aristophanes' satire, who had the spirit to conceive the Sicilian expedition and the fortitude to bear up so gallantly against the crushing disaster of its failure; who listened with approbation to the bloody arguments of Cleon, perpetrated the Melian massacre, and judicially murdered Socrates and the Arginusian generals; were the genuine descendants of the Athenians who fought the battles of Marathon and Salamis, who ostracised Aristides and Themistocles, and appropriated the Delian fund: the same gay, giddy, enterprising, intelligent, unprincipled, unscrupulous "People," which combined great and noble with odious and contemptible qualities in a degree perhaps unparalleled in the world's history.

I am also quite prepared to admit that the *personal* character and *personal* morality of the Sophists were neither above nor below the ordinary standard of the time; and that they had no conscious or avowed intention of inculcating licentious and demoralizing principles, or corrupting the minds of their youthful hearers.

However to allow that eight or ten teachers—who did not even permanently reside in Athens—were not able to corrupt a whole generation and an entire state, is not to exonerate them from all moral culpability: and though there is perhaps no ground for imputing to them a vicious personal character, or even worse motives than those which an ostentatious vanity and a desire of wealth and distinction could account for, I still think

that we have sufficient evidence, direct and indirect, to show that their teaching *may* have been—and if logically carried out to its natural consequences *must* have been—mischievous and corrupting in its effects: that they may fairly be charged with a most culpable carelessness of the immediate consequences of their teaching, ethical, philosophical, and rhetorical¹: that they heedlessly disseminated principles of reasoning the tendency, though not the object, of which was to undermine the foundation of men's religious, moral, social, and philosophical creed, and left it to others to deduce the consequences. That others were not slow to deduce them, appears from the case of Callicles—a pupil of Gorgias, and therefore the very best instance that could be adduced to show the use that was likely to be made of their instructions (see p. 531)—who is represented in the Gorgias as advancing anti-social doctrines.

What seems to me capable of being satisfactorily made out from the representations of the Greek writers themselves is, that in the latter half of the 5th century before Christ there existed in Greece a set of teachers who *were distinguished* from their predecessors and contemporaries by the profession of teaching virtue, with which they conjoined the new art of rhetoric and certain exaggerated literary and philosophical pretensions, and by receiving pay for their instructions in these arts; and that their pretensions were devoid of any solid foundation: that they had certain common personal characteristics, and a common method of teaching and reasoning: and above all, that the opinions, philosophical, moral, and religious which they held and the instruction they imparted in these various branches were in the view not only of the Athenian public, but also of some of the wisest men and most competent judges that Greece and the world ever beheld, mischievous and dangerous in their

¹ The object and effect of their teaching of rhetoric is expressed in the phrase τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν, "to make the unjust or inferior cause prevail over the just and true."

See on this point Arist. Rhet. II. 24. ult., who attributes the practice expressly to Protagoras, τὸ Πρωταγόρου ἐπιδόγμα, distinguishes it from the

true art of rhetoric, and condemns it in the most decided terms. It is no defence of this practice to say that modern lawyers do the same, (p. 501): this could at the best go no further than to show that such kind of rhetorical practice is a necessary evil, not that it is no evil, or has no tendency to confound men's notions of right and wrong.

tendency, and condemned by them accordingly: that these men first received the name of *σοφισταί* in a disparaging sense; that they were included in that class by the Greeks generally, and that by the more enlightened and discriminating the name was almost, if not entirely, confined to them. Though the name 'Sophist' had not necessarily an offensive connotation; and when it was used as a term of contempt was certainly sometimes applied ad libitum to any individual or class of men of whose opinions or occupations the writer or speaker happened to disapprove; yet I deem it certain that the name as an offensive appellation was first given to Gorgias, Protagoras, Prodicus, Hippias and their immediate pupils and followers, and that at the end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth centuries before Christ the mention of the name 'Sophist' would have suggested these men, either alone or pre-eminently, to the mind of any Athenian of ordinary education and enlightenment.

The first distinguishing characteristic of the class was that they taught (philosophy and virtue²) for hire³. Here again Mr Grote appeals to modern practice, and concludes that because with us it is no disgrace to teach any thing for money, therefore it was none in Greece in the 5th century B.C., or at any rate that we have no right to find fault with the practice of the Sophists in this particular. But it is evident from the combined

² They certainly professed to teach virtue; and according to Aristotle, Xenophon and Isocrates failed signally in the attempt: and most likely the question *εἰ διδάκτων ἢ ἀπερὶ*, so often discussed in the Platonic dialogues and the *Memorabilia*, was first brought into prominent notice by their professions. But as this "virtue" was the public virtue of a citizen, and to give instruction in it meant, according to their interpretation, to qualify for public life, so it may be presumed that what they really taught was chiefly rhetoric (as Zeno logic), and that their fees for the two respectively were in the proportion of those paid by Paul Clifford to his early instructors, "two bob for the Latin and a sice for the *virtue*," out of the weekly half-crown which was disbursed for his tuition.

They were obliged to set up these exaggerated pretensions, says Aristotle, *Eth. Nic. IX. 1*, because no one would have bought of them what they *really knew*.

³ The definition of *σοφιστική* by Philostratus, with which he prefaces his *Lives of the Sophists*, omits this point, *τὴν ἀρχαίαν σοφιστικὴν ῥητορικὴν ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ φιλοσοφοῦσαν*. *Διαλέγεται μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες, ἀ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι τὰς ἐρωτήσεις ὑποκαθήμενοι* [subdoli in interrogationibus. Kayser] *καὶ τὰ σμικρὰ τῶν ζητουμένων προβιβάζοντες οὐκ ὡς φασὶ γινώσκουσιν, ταῦτα δὲ παλαιὸς σοφιστὴς ὡς εἰδὼς λέγει*, (here appears the *δολωσία*, which we shall have presently to notice), and further on, *τὰ φιλοσοφούμενα ὑποτιθεμένη διφεί αὐτὰ ἀποτάδην καὶ ἐς μῆκος*.

mony of Socrates⁴, Plato and Aristotle⁵ that in their time it was reckoned an abuse, and destructive of the confidential affectionate relation which ought to subsist between master and pupil in this highest of arts: and it must be held to be in defiance of the shamelessness ascribed to the Sophists that they thus ran counter to public feeling as expressed by those capable of forming a judgment upon the subject. It seems that to take money for this particular kind of instruction was not only offensive, but a novelty. Zeller, on the authority of Iulianus Laertius, says that fees had never before been paid for philosophical instruction. "Zeno had done so before them," says Mr Grote, p. 470. The only authority I can find for this statement is the very questionable one of the First Alcibiades, as attributed to Plato, p. 119. A., where it is said that Pythodorus and Callias each paid a hundred minæ to Zeno, and became in consequence 'learned or clever and distinguished' σοφός ἐλλόγιμος. Plutarch in his life of Pericles, c. 4, which is referred to by Brandis (Biogr. Dict. Art. Zeno) merely says he ἤκουσε Ζήνωνος; but if we accept the statement of the First Alcibiades, it would appear far more probable that the hundred minæ were paid for instruction in Zeno's famous logic; a much more marketable commodity, and much more likely to make Pythodorus and Callias clever and notorious, than Eleatic philosophy. However, even if it was his philosophy (that the universe is one, and change, motion, and phenomena in general are delusions) that Zeno sold so dear, his example cannot be adduced as a defence or precedent: for from the specimens of his method of reasoning with which he puzzled his contemporaries, the fallacy of which it has been reserved for modern ingenuity to explain, it would appear that he was in the most proper sense of the word a Sophist: and so he seems to have been considered by Aristotle, who names him amongst them in the Soph. Elench. Again, Mr Grote tells us that Plato was a poor man and could afford to give instruction for nothing; and

⁴ especially Xen. Mem. i. ii. 6, and i. vi. 13. In the latter passage expressions are particularly applicable. The taking of fees for this kind of instruction is branded as an intellectual prostitution: καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ὡσαύτως μὲν ἀργυρίου τῷ βουλομένῳ πω-

λοῦντας, σοφιστὰς ὥσπερ πόρνους ἀποκαλοῦσιν.

⁵ This enters as an essential point into Aristotle's definition of σοφιστής, de Soph. Elench. c. 1, ὁ σοφιστὴς χρηματιστής ἀπὸ φαινομένης σοφίας, οὐδὲν δ' οὐδ'.

I own that *Plato's* censure of the practice does remind us of Byron's sneers at Scott for accepting money for a poem from his publisher: but the taunt of an angry satirist conveyed in a neatly turned couplet, which after all may have been the main motive for Byron's attack, is a very different thing from the deliberate opinion of three grave philosophers *in prose*; and besides, if Plato was a rich man, Socrates was one of the poorest in Athens, and yet he spent his life in gratuitous teaching, and uses the strongest language in condemning the contrary practice. Every age and nation has its own notions of decency and propriety, some of them purely conventional⁶; so that the usages of one can hardly be measured by the standard of another: but any one who deliberately violates these customary proprieties, and acts in defiance of public opinion, manifests a recklessness and want of good feeling for which he must expect, and deserves, censure and ridicule.

In examining the remaining characteristics of this class, we shall be obliged at the same time to consider the character of our witnesses and how far their testimony may be relied on;

⁶ There were many licenses short of positive immorality permitted to the ancient Athenian (and Corcyrean), as to the modern Frenchman, by the liberal and, so to speak, free-and-easy social code then and there prevailing, from which we are debarred by our sterner and stricter notions of etiquette: and there are some things sanctioned by our habits—particularly in the case of the conduct and treatment of women—from which a well-bred Greek would have recoiled with horror. A modern professor of Moral Philosophy may "teach virtue for hire" without incurring censure; but at Athens, in the 5th century B.C., he could not. A philosopher might at Athens drink any quantity of wine and water, in large or small cups, (*Xen. Symp.* II. 26,) and mixed in any proportion he pleased, without scandal—and in fact, the strength of his head seems to have been sometimes regarded as a sort of measure of the strength of his principles or power of self-controul—

but what would Aristotle have said to a *ball*?

On the philosophical view of tippling just referred to, see *Plat. Legg.* I. 649, II. 671–674, cited by Mr Grote, p. 553; and compare the scene described at the end of *Plato's Symposium*. In *Xenophon's Symposium*, II. 17, there is a very absurd account of the effect produced on the company by Socrates' announcement of his intention of dancing. Charmides (§ 20) caught him one day engaged at home in this occupation, as a substitute for a constitutional walk. He was at first utterly amazed at the sight, and thought that Socrates was out of his senses; but afterwards recovered his composure so far as to join him, not in dancing, for he did not know how, but in gesticulating with his hands, by way of exercise. Every one remembers Cicero's expression upon this subject, *pro Mur.* c. 6, "*Nemo fere saltat sobrius nisi forte insanit*:" and compare *Plat. Menex.* 236. c.

because Mr Grote for various reasons, of greater or less weight, holds that some of the most important of them must either be put out of court altogether, or at any rate that they were so biassed by strong prejudice, that their evidence must be received with the greatest suspicion. The witnesses from whom our statements will be derived are Aristophanes, Socrates, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle and Isocrates; men it is to be observed of widely different temper and turn of mind, who yet unite as we shall endeavour to show in giving a certain character, the same in its outline and essential points, to a particular class of men whom they call Sophists: if this *can* be shown, it would not be easy to point out any better attested fact in history, whether we regard the number or the respectability of the witnesses by whose evidence it is confirmed.

As Plato is by far the most important of them, it will be proper to examine him first, and endeavour to ascertain how far his description may be depended on; whether in fact in his representation of the Sophists and the sentiments he has put into their mouths, he acted the part of a calumnious libeller—as Aristophanes treats Socrates in the *Nubes*—without even so much excuse as the comic poet for ignorance and carelessness. This seems unlikely. Mr Grote's explanation of the phenomenon (p. 487, sq.) is that Plato was a reformer and a theorist, who had originated a new philosophical system, and lived in a speculative world of his own, apart from the common ways and haunts of men; and that he looked at things consequently from an entirely different point of view from that of the Sophists, who were practical instructors, and whose office was to qualify young men for public life.

This statement however takes no notice of the philosophical theories of Gorgias and Protagoras, one of which Plato himself weighs with so much care in the balance of the *Theætetus*, and finds so lamentably wanting.

If Plato had no other reason than that alleged by Mr Grote for attacking the Sophists, we need not suppose that he does them any injustice; and we may take his account as substantially correct, unless we can discover some cause of ill will against them—and there was none—by which his view of their character, teaching, and influence might have been warped and distorted. In fact Mr Grote afterwards does so, and with a

pardonable inconsistency proceeds to argue that Plato does not represent them in so bad a light as has been supposed.

There is not the smallest reason to suppose that personal ill feeling led him to revenge himself by exposing them to ridicule. Not to mention that his uncle Charmides appears in Protagoras' train in the dialogue of that name, the elder Sophists, Gorgias, Protagoras, Prodicus, &c. could only have been known to him as a mere boy; and from the distinguished position which they had then attained, could hardly have given him offence: nor have we any notice of their having done so.

Of course it may be said that Plato indulged a propensity and a talent for satire at the expence of these pompous and empty pretenders, who offered such a convenient foil to his principal character, and butt for his ironical wit. But mere satirists, ancient as well as modern, prose-writers and poets, Aristophanes and Horace, Pope and Voltaire, do not single out one particular class of persons as the object of attack, and *confine themselves to it*, as Plato must have done by the hypothesis. This kind of satire which consists in caricature and misrepresentation, even when the object is merely to display the writer's own wit and raise a laugh, implies so much recklessness and unscrupulousness in the satirist as could not fail to carry him on to an indiscriminate exercise of his powers upon all convenient objects of ridicule: and further, to attribute to a set of men, some of whom were still living, erroneous opinions and immoral doctrines which they never held, seems so far to transcend the allowed limits of satire that it passes into the region of calumny and libel, of which it would require the very strongest reasons to convince me that Plato could have been designedly guilty. We are told, to be sure, that Gorgias said after reading the dialogue which bears his name, 'I did not recognise myself. The young man however has great talent for satire.' Of course no one recognises himself when he is faithfully represented; or why should the poet exclaim,

"O wad some power the giftie gie us,
To see ourselves as others see us?"

And besides, Mr Grote himself allows that Gorgias is treated in that work 'with a respect that surprises the Commentators' (p. 527). Whatever satire there may be in it is not levelled at Gorgias. He is made to return very short answers to Socrates' questions, and to contradict himself, and that is all.

Moreover, Plato's ill opinion of these men lasted through life, and was not a mere ebullition of youthful petulance, or a hasty repossession taken up upon partial knowledge or hearsay evidence, to be laid down again as easily upon maturer investigation. For not only is one of them introduced in a most disadvantageous character in the Republic, a late work and of a very serious tone; but also in what is probably one of the very latest of his writings, the Laws, there is a long passage, which, though no name is given, is proved by unmistakeable allusions to their known tenets, to have reference to them, containing an account of their doctrines, and carrying with it a most severe condemnation. And here there was no temptation to exaggerate in order to produce a ludicrous effect; for this dialogue has a purely didactic character, and the passage referred to is of the gravest kind.

It occurs de Legg. x. 888. E. sq.; and may be found quoted at length in Ritter and Preller's Hist. Phil. Ch. iv. § 183. Mr Grote bestows only a passing observation upon it in a note, p. 530; I will therefore give the substance of it. The author first mentions a distinction insisted upon by 'some' between φύσις, τύχη and ἐργον in their cosmology and social philosophy. All the greatest and best things are due to nature and chance, the smaller and less important to art. The world was created by nature and chance; by accidental collision of the elements all things are produced therein: reason was not concerned in it, nor God, nor art, i. e. design or skill. 'Art is of mortal origin; all that is formed by it is shadowy and untrue. Laws originating not in nature but art or custom are also unreal, resting on no solid foundation. The Gods exist by art, not by nature but by certain laws, and are different to different men, [i. e. they have no real existence, but are mere fictions of governors and lawgivers assumed for their own convenience and assented to by the governed.] Things beautiful are some by φύσις and others by ὁμος or convention. Things just are not by nature at all: [i. e. justice is a mere convention; there are no such things as absolute and general principles of justice:] mankind are constantly calling them in question and altering them: and whatever alterations they chance to make at any given time, those for that time have force and authority, being the product of art and the laws but in no sense of nature: [in other words, whatever men choose to consider just at a given time and place, that

for that time and place is justice.] All these are principles of men wise in the eyes of youth, poets as well as prose-writers: who assert that whatsoever a man makes to prevail by force is perfect justice: whence impious notions get possession of the minds of youths, who are led to think that the Gods whom the law enjoins them to believe in have no existence; and quarrels and seditions are engendered whilst they drag [their followers] towards the true life according to nature, which is in fact to bear rule over one's fellow-creatures and not to be a slave to others according to law⁷.

One could hardly desire a better illustration of the application of the Protagorean principle 'a man is the standard of everything to himself,' to religion and political and social ethics, than the passage above quoted. It leads at once to Atheism: and, allowing each individual to set up for himself his own standard of right and wrong, virtually abrogates all universal principles to which mankind appeal, and suffers every man to do what is right in his own eyes. Man makes himself the measure of the existence of the Gods—and the same rule may be applied to the God of the Christian as to the Gods of the heathen—and they become phantoms of the brain, creatures of political convenience: of justice and the laws, and they become mere conventions, devoid of force and authority: until from step

⁷ Mr Grote, p. 530, note 1, appears to deny the reference of this extract to the Sophists: and accuses Ritter and Brandis of error in ascribing to them the tenet which maintains that there is no right by nature, but only by convention. "Now Plato," he continues, (Legg. x. 889,) "whom these writers refer to, charges certain wise men—σοφοὺς ἰδιώτας τε καὶ ποιητάς (he does not mention Sophists)—with wickedness, but on the ground directly opposite; because they did acknowledge a right by nature, of greater authority than the right laid down by the legislator; and because they encouraged pupils to follow this supposed right of nature, disobeying the law."

Plato's words are, τὰ δὲ δὴ δίκαια οὐδ' εἶναι τὸ παράπαν φύσει . . . γιγνόμενα τέχνη καὶ νόμοις ἀλλ' οὐ δὴ τινι φύσει, which are surely sufficient to

warrant Ritter and Brandis in their opinion. The passages which I have cited seem to me fully sufficient to fix the reference upon the Sophists; though I do not deny that others besides them may be included in the description: whoever the persons may be who are thus described, it cannot at any rate be denied, that the principles they thus sought to inculcate were highly immoral and mischievous. It will be observed that Mr Grote translates φύσις (in the phrase ἐλκόντων πρὸς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν ὁρθὸν βίον), "the right of nature," which would make Plato and the maintainers of the theory contradict themselves. They acknowledged no justice by φύσις, but only by νόμος; the life they recommended their pupils to follow was not just, but right according to nature, i. e. their own interest.

to step the victim of sophistry learns to acknowledge no rule but that of his own fancied interest, and in compassing his selfish ends to trample upon all laws and violate every moral and social obligation.

The manifest connection between some of the opinions here condemned and the Protagorean dogma would at once render it probable that Protagoras his associates and followers are referred to in the foregoing passage: but the conclusion becomes almost a matter of certainty when we compare some of the statements contained in it with the following extracts and references. Protagoras' known religious scepticism, *περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι εἰθ' ὥς εἰσὶν εἰθ' ὥς οὐκ εἰσὶν*: his doctrine of justice, *Theæt.* 167. c. [where a professedly favourable account is given of his theory and its consequences] *οἷά γ' ἂν ἐκάσῃ πόλει δίκαια καὶ καλὰ δοκῇ, ταῦτα καὶ εἶναι αὐτῇ ἕως ἂν αὐτὰ νομίσῃ*, comp. 172. B.; to the same effect is Hippias' opinion about 'laws,' *Memor.* IV. 4. 14, *Νόμους... πῶς ἂν τις ἡγήσαιοτο σπουδαῖον πρᾶγμα εἶναι ἢ τὸ πείθεσθαι αὐτοῖς οὓς γε πολλάκις αὐτοὶ οἱ θέμενοι ἀποδοκιμάσαντες μετατίθενται*; comp. with *Legg.* I. c., *ἀλλ' ἀμφισβητοῦντας διατελεῖν, κ.τ.λ.* The opposition of *φύσις* and *νόμος* is adduced by Prodicus, *Protag.* 337. c., by Callicles, *Gorg.* 482. E. 484. A. Comp. *Theæt.* 172. A. B., where it is attributed to those who accept Protagoras' doctrine though they do not go the whole way with him. *Arist. de Soph. El.* c. 12., *ὥσπερ ὁ Καλλικλῆς ἐν τῇ Γοργίᾳ γέγραπται λέγων, καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι δὲ πάντες (i. e. the older Sophists) φησὶν συμβαίνειν... ἐναντία γὰρ εἶναι φύσιν καὶ νόμον, καὶ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ κατὰ νόμον μὲν εἶναι καλὸν, κατὰ φύσιν δ' οὐ καλὸν... ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀληθές, τὸ δὲ κατὰ νόμον τὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκοῦν.*

It is true that this distinction was not confined to the persons commonly called Sophists—it is attributed by *Diog. Laert.* II. 16. to Archelaus, *ἔλεγε... τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν οὐ φύσει ἀλλὰ νόμῳ*, who was contemporary with Protagoras, Gorgias, &c., and as he was a physical philosopher and this is the only ethical opinion reported of him, it is likely enough that he may have borrowed it from some of them. A similar distinction was also applied by Democritus to his physical system, *Sext. Empir. ap. Ritter et Preller*, § 90, *νόμῳ, φησι, γλυκὺ καὶ νόμῳ πικρὸν, κ.τ.λ. ἐτεῇ δὲ (i. e. φύσει) ἄτομα καὶ κενόν.* Democritus was a later contemporary of Protagoras and the earlier Sophists. Who the 'poets' are who are mentioned together with prose-writers does not appear.

Ritter and Preller, H. Ph. l. c., refer the word to Critias, who wrote poems in which he maintained that the Gods are nothing but the figments of legislators, invented for the purpose of giving a divine sanction to their own enactments, and inspiring the vulgar with a salutary awe and reverence for their rulers. I have no better suggestion to offer, unless an allusion be intended to the poetical style affected by Gorgias, of which Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that some of his phrases were not far removed from dithyrambics, οὐ πόρρω διθυράμβων ἔνα φθεγγόμενος, comp. Xen. Symp. II. 26: but I confess I do not think this probable. However though the Sophists are principally aimed at in the passage of the Laws, others may be included with them in the censure.

To return to Plato himself. It seems to me that it neither has been nor can be made out that he has misrepresented these men or exaggerated their personal peculiarities: he had no personal motive for disliking them⁸: his bad opinion of their principles and qualifications as teachers is expressed seriously as well as playfully, dramatically and didactically: he had the best possible information: and was a perfectly competent judge of the questions under discussion. Why should we refuse to believe him? I think that all that Mr Grote advances from Plato himself to show that his ill opinion of the Sophists has been misunderstood and exaggerated is outweighed by the positive and direct statements of the passage of the Laws above quoted.

What Plato imputes to the Sophists in the dialogues in which they are introduced as *dramatis personæ*—and the charge is fully confirmed by other writers—is *usually*, not this or that pernicious and scandalous doctrine, but a want of serious purpose, an unscientific and unphilosophical habit which utterly disqualified them for the office they had undertaken, or even for understanding the true nature of what they professed to teach. They are able by their cleverness and dexterity to impose upon their young pupils and the public in general, and to mystify them with long set speeches; which, as they have an equal

⁸ Even the absurd and self-refuting charge of malignity brought against him by Hegesander, ap. Athen. XI. p. 507. a. sq., were it in itself credible, would not apply to this case, for it is a *general*

charge: and there is no reason why Plato should have indulged it against the Sophists more than against any other class of persons.

acquaintance with all departments of knowledge, they can deliver with equal readiness upon any one; but the moment they are brought into contact with a sound and acute thinker, and their real knowledge put to the test, all this fine show at once disappears, and their ignorance and impudence stand confessed "in all their charms." This seems to be the notion entertained of them by Plato: and it was this emptiness and pretence which tended to check the advance of knowledge, and to substitute words for science, and rhetorical common-places for true philosophy, together with the influence which they had acquired by their talents and arts, that rendered Plato so hostile to their character and induced him to give them so prominent a place in his writings.

All their proceedings as represented by Plato, are stamped with the one pervading character of *ἀλαζονεία*, "quackery;" a word which is expressly applied to them by Aristophanes, Xenophon, and Isocrates, and is equivalent to the terms by which Aristotle conveys the distinction between their professions and true philosophy; I do not mean to say that this was the *only* thing which Plato and the higher order of thinkers at Athens found fault with in these men; I believe we have proof to the contrary; but that this in Plato's view was the basis of their intellectual character, and might naturally lead their followers, if not themselves, into the most reckless and daring opinions and assertions, subversive alike of sound philosophy and morals, some of which are mentioned in the citation from the *Laws*, and passages hereafter to be quoted⁹.

⁹ Mr Grote quotes Rep. VI. 492. A. as showing that Plato distinctly denies that corruption of the Athenian youth was attributable to the Sophists. If this were the true interpretation of the passage, all further argument about Plato's opinion of the sophistical teaching would be superseded. But to me the words convey no other meaning than this—that people talk of a few individual sophists as corrupters of the Athenian youth, who do no harm worth speaking of, *compared with* that which they do themselves by the injudicious manner in which they dispense their praise and

blame in theatres, law-courts, assemblies, and so forth. I take this interpretation to be *at least* equally in accordance with the words themselves, and far more so with Plato's views of the pernicious effect of the teaching of the Sophists, so often expressed elsewhere. It is plain from the repetition of *σοφιστής* in the second clause, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτοὺς, κ.τ.λ., that it is implied in the first that the Sophists *do* corrupt youth: for where would be the sense of saying, that those who bring this charge are themselves the greatest "Sophists," (meaning that they themselves are the worst corrupters of youth),

Having thus endeavoured to ascertain what was Plato's opinion of the class in general, we will now pass on to Aristotle, and return by and by to examine the special statements and descriptions of particular members of it scattered through the Platonic and other writings.

In speaking of the general characteristics by which they were distinguished from their predecessors and contemporaries in the art of teaching, I have already alluded to that combination of qualities, effrontery and imposture—summed up in the word *δλαζονεία*, which is the main ingredient in their character as they are depicted by Plato; is expressed by Aristotle in the phrase *φαινομένη σοφία* which he applies to them and their reasoning, so constantly that it almost becomes technical, in the treatise¹⁰ *Περὶ Σοφ. ἐλέγχ.*; and used to designate them (as I suppose), by Xenophon, *Mem.* i. 7; by Aristophanes, *Nub.* 102, 1492; and by Isocrates *κατὰ τῶν Σοφ.* § 1.

Mr Grote treats the evidence of Aristotle, to whose statements we have now to direct our attention, in a very summary way. "Aristotle following the example of his master," p. 484,

in the second member of the sentence, unless it were conveyed by the first, that the Sophists are mischievous instructors, only in an inferior degree? Clauses such as *διαφθερομένους . . . ὅτι καὶ ἄξιον λόγου*, which are introduced by way of contrast or comparison with the rest of the sentence, are usually prefaced by *μέν*; the apodosis, which is, as Buttmann expresses it, the "caput rei" (see his notes on *Mid.* § 7. a, 49. c, 56. d; *Men.* § 34. a; *Gr. Gr.* § 149) being commonly introduced by *δέ*. Deviations from this usage however sometimes occur, and the sentence is left to explain itself, as it were, without the help of the particles. The only example that occurs to me at present is *Rom.* vi. 19, *χαίρει δὲ τῷ Θεῷ ὅτι ἦτε δοῦλοι τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ὑπηκούσατε δὲ ἐκ καρδίας, κ.τ.λ.* The peculiarity of this construction is, that the first clause has either no meaning, or is untrue, when taken by itself without the apodosis. As in the instance above quoted, St Paul thanks God that the Romans were the servants of sin,

only upon consideration of the present happy change in their condition.

¹⁰ The treatise *π. Σ. ἐλ.*, as the author himself implies, c. 2, and the Scholiast Alexander Aphrodisiensis informs us, was written as a supplement to the Books of the *Analytics*: in the latter Aristotle teaches the true art of reasoning, and the theory of the syllogism; in this work he takes to pieces the false or sham art which apes it for the purpose of imposition, and exposes its many tricks, see c. 5. Mr Grote says that the Sophists pay the penalty of the modern signification of their name: on the contrary, it was their practice which first gave the name its invidious sense; and it is likely enough that this very treatise of Aristotle contributed mainly to fix upon sophistry that peculiar signification which it bears in modern languages, fallacious deceitful reasoning; at any rate it appears from this work, that such reasoning was the peculiar and acknowledged characteristic of the Sophists.

"Aristotle following the Platonic vein," p. 499, which is all that is said to mitigate the force of his censures. To this we may reply with equal brevity: in what *else* did Aristotle follow the example of his master? His whole philosophy was different; and a large space of his works is occupied in combating his opinions: and why should he have made a special exception in the case of the Sophists, and taken up an unfounded prejudice merely because his master was influenced by it? If he thought it "a sacred duty" to prefer truth to Plato, and permitted himself so freely to criticise his theory of ideas—and indeed nearly every opinion that he held—how could he allow an unworthy prejudice against a whole class of men to retain possession of his mind, grounded on nothing but his master's propensity to satire,—and not only so, but write a long treatise levelled against them, which in that case would be misdirected and misapplied? If ever there was a writer undeserving of such a suspicion, less likely than another to imbibe or foster such a prepossession, I think we must admit that it was Aristotle.

That the work is directed chiefly if not entirely against them and their art, appears from the definition of σοφιστική, c. 1, p. 165. a. 21, ἔστι γὰρ ἡ σοφιστικὴ φαινόμενη σοφία, οὕσα δ' οὐδ', καὶ ὁ σοφιστὴς χρηματιστὴς ἀπὸ φαινόμενης σοφίας ἀλλ' οὐκ οὐσης, with Alexander's commentary; "this is shown in the case of the Hippiases, and Protagorases, and Gorgias, and Prodicuses: and if any one desires to inform himself of the nature of their 'wisdom' and the wealth that it enabled them to amass, he has only to consult the dialogues of Plato which bear their names." In fact, without the aid of the commentary, it is plain that the words χρηματιστὴς ἀπὸ σοφίας, must include the persons above named, their associates and followers, and the addition of φαινόμενης excludes the professors and teachers of the ordinary arts, music, grammar, &c. The same thing appears from ch. 12, 173. a. 7, sq., where he distinguishes two classes of Sophists, οἱ ἀρχαῖοι, amongst whom he ranks Callicles¹¹ (see Mr Grote's Hist. p. 531, "Callicles himself is not a Sophist") and those of his own time, οἱ νῦν. They both had recourse to the same method of reasoning, παράδοξα λέγειν; for which purpose they employed the distinction of τὰ κατὰ φύσιν

¹¹ As Callicles was not a professional Sophist, but a young man of station, whom Gorgias had educated for public life, he is only included here in the class as one who shared their opinions and method of reasoning.

and τὰ κατὰ νόμον [which we have before shown to have been familiarly used by the Sophists] in order to mystify those with whom they argued, and lead them astray from the real point at issue: "their rule being to meet an opponent who was speaking κατὰ φύσιν (of things, that is, as they really are, according to their true nature) with an answer κατὰ νόμον (according to the customary or conventional notions of them) and *vice versa*." If οἱ ἀρχαῖοι does not here mean "the old Sophists," Gorgias, Protagoras, Polus, &c., it can only mean the "old philosophers," a sense which it sometimes bears in Aristotle (comp. de Anim. III. 3, p. 51. 18. Bekk.); but not a word of what follows would be true of *them*. Further, continual reference is made to ἐριστικοὶ or ἀγωνιστικοὶ λόγοι; for example, c. 2, 165. b. 7, 11; which are identified with σοφιστικοὶ λόγοι, and defined l. c. οἱ ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων ἐνδόξων μὴ ὄντων δὲ συλλογιστικοὶ ἢ φαινόμενοι συλλογιστικοί: (every thing about their arguments is sham:) comp. c. 11, p. 171, b. 25, οἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς νίκης αὐτῆς χάριν τοιοῦτοι ἐριστικοὶ ἄνθρωποι καὶ φιλέριδες δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, οἱ δὲ δόξης χάριν τῆς εἰς χρηματισμὸν σοφιστικοί. So that the ἐριστικοὶ λόγοι differ from the σοφιστικοί not in the nature of the arguments themselves, but only in the purpose for which they are employed; the latter being used by those who make a trade of philosophical discussion, διὰ φαινομένης ἀποδείξεως ἐφίενται. These ἐριστικοὶ λόγοι are precisely those ascribed to the Sophists by Plato, sometimes under the same name, sometimes by the equivalent terms ἀντιλογικός, ἀγωνιστικός. Sophist. 225. b. c. Phileb. 17. a. Men. 75. c. Phæd. 90. b. c. 91. a. 101. e. Rep. v. 454. a. The persons who are designated by these various names have all the same character, viz. that they are not true philosophers; that they have no serious scientific purpose in view, but talk merely for the sake of show and of gaining the victory by any means in argument: and by this they are distinguished from the Platonic διαλεκτικοί, the true men of science: and precisely to the same effect is Aristotle's description, c. 11. p. 172. a. 34, ἀτέχνως γὰρ μετέχουσι τούτου οὗ ἐντέχνως ἢ διαλεκτικῇ ἐστίν. And finally, all this φαινόμενη σοφία with its φαινόμενοι ἔλεγχοι, and συλλογισμοί, and ἀποδείξεις, and its ἐριστικοὶ λόγοι νίκης ἢ δόξης χάριν, is in strict accordance with the Protagorean doctrine by which "to be" and "to seem to be" are identified. Theæt. 166. d. Compare Metaph. III. 2. 1004. b. 17.

So much for Aristotle's opinion of the Sophistical method of

philosophizing, as conveyed in the treatise *περὶ Σοφ. ἐλέγχ.* I will now cite a passage from the *Nicom. Ethics*, ix. 1, by which their *ἀλαζονεία* is further illustrated. After mentioning Protagoras' fair dealing in the matter of taking fees from his pupils (comp. *Plat. Protag.* 328. B), he continues, "but those that take the money beforehand, if they then fail to perform every thing they have undertaken by reason of the exaggeration of their professions, are justly subject to censure: for they do not fulfil their contract. But perhaps the Sophists are obliged to act in this way, because no one would pay them for what they *do* know;" which certainly conveys no favourable impression of their intellectual and moral qualifications as teachers of youth. Add to these passages *Rhet.* i. 1. 4. (quoted by Mr Grote, p. 484, not. 1), where the author "explains the Sophist to be a person who has the same powers as the dialectician, but abuses them for a bad purpose;" and we have enough to show what was Aristotle's judgment of the class generally. Leaving, as before, notices of particular Sophists till we come to treat of them separately, we will proceed to examine the rest of our witnesses.

The testimony of Aristophanes Mr Grote refuses altogether to admit: and says that if he is a witness against any one it is against Socrates, who is singled out for attack in the *Clouds*. This is disposing of that author rather too summarily. It is true that Aristophanes attributes to Socrates a mass of opinions and practices, some of which belonged to other philosophers, and some perhaps were purely fictitious; and that he was altogether mistaken in his selection of Socrates as the representative of the Sophists; but it does not follow from this that the thing he describes had no real existence: on the contrary, the mere fact of his making the attack upon the sophistical spirit embodied in the odd and grotesque figure of Socrates, and the pale face of his friend Chærephon, is a proof of the strong popular antipathy already growing against a new set of teachers called *Sophists*, which must no doubt have had some real foundation: *Interdum vulgus recte videt*: and the singularly bitter spirit which pervades the whole play, and interferes considerably with the comic effect, shows that this time at least Aristophanes was in real earnest. Aristophanes' evidence unsupported would be worth little: it is the business of a comic poet and satirist to exaggerate and distort; but it gains weight when confirmed, as

it is, by the testimony of other writers of much higher historical authority. At the very lowest, and putting out of the question his own opinion of the mischievous nature of the teaching which he was assailing—which however we are by no means called upon to do—we may accept the *Clouds* as good evidence of a strong popular feeling against the Sophists, grounded it can hardly be doubted, and indeed as appears from the play itself, upon the sceptical and subversive character of their opinions upon religion and morals. Of course it may be said that the blow was aimed at all philosophers and philosophy indiscriminately: and I do not say that Aristophanes made any very nice distinctions between them; but there are at any rate two express allusions to Protagoras' known peculiarities, one to his *ὀρθοπεία* and the distinctions of gender which he introduced into grammar, *Nub.* 659, sq. (comp. *Arist. Rhet.* III. 5), and the other to his rhetorical teaching and his profession *τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν* (comp. *Arist. Rhet.* II. 26). Prodicus is also mentioned, and with commendation, v. 361, but only by way of contrast to the rest of the Sophists represented by Socrates: and the value of the compliment is still further diminished by the notices of him in two other plays, *Aves* 691, where he is classed with the others as a *μετεωροσοφίστης*, and *Tagenistæ* (Fragm. 6. Dind.), in which he is reckoned amongst the *ἰδολίσχαι*—a name by which Aristophanes expressed his sense of the value and importance of the studies and occupations of the Sophists. *Nub.* 1480. 1485.

Mr Grote is again disposed to get rid of Socrates as a witness against the Sophists. All that he says about him is, parenthetically, p. 487: "It is Plato and not Socrates who was peculiarly hostile¹² to them, as may be seen by the absence of any such

¹² Socrates was a good-natured man and not "hostile" to any body, and ready to converse on easy and equal terms with all men, and all classes of society: of which there are some remarkable examples in the *Memorabilia*. Mr Grote might just as well argue that Socrates was not "hostile to courtesans," because he goes to pay a visit to Theodote (*Mem.* III. 11) and instructs her in the arts of attraction. If the *Symposium* of Plato could be considered as in any way founded on fact, (which how-

ever I am very far from maintaining), the terms on which he is there represented as conversing with Aristophanes, would be a very striking illustration of his good nature and forgiving disposition: in fact, this easy cheerful temper, *εὐκόλῃα* and *εὐθυμῃα*, appears in every thing that is related of him. But even Plato does not represent him as embittered against the Sophists; he simply confutes and exposes them: but his known opinions and character, and the direct opposition of his habits, views of

marked antithesis in the *Memorabilia*." But if Socrates had not actually been brought into frequent collision with the Sophists, would Plato, for the mere sake of contrasting his teaching and principles with theirs, have chosen to represent him as their constant antagonist? I do not think that he would so soon after his master's death (and even during his life-time, if, as is nearly certain, the *Protagoras* was written at that period) have ventured thus to violate historical probability, and to trifle with his character and his memory. Indeed the mere love of fun (for Socrates had a most keen sense of the ludicrous) and the pleasure of exercising his dialectical skill in unmasking these pompous swaggering pretenders, apart from any points of difference between their views and feelings, or the mischievous effects which he may have attributed to their teaching, must necessarily have led to constant "wit-combates" between them, similar to those which are described in the *Protagoras* and *Gorgias*. That this was the case there are sufficient indications in the *Memorabilia*: and it must be remembered that the apologetic purpose of that work would lead its author to report conversations of which the whole world could understand the drift, and in which positive principles and rules of conduct were inculcated, rather than discussions which many of his readers might chance to think frivolous and leading to no certain conclusion: so that we should not expect to find many of these encounters narrated by Xenophon. But at the same time he points out the difference between Socrates and the Sophists, by showing that the former was an honest and sincere man, whose great object was to instil virtuous principles into those who sought his advice and instruction. However, we have in that work positive evidence of Socrates' opinion of some of the Sophists, conveyed either by direct statements, or by implication from the opposition of their views on this or that subject. See the argument with Hippias upon justice and the laws, *Mem.* iv. 4; particularly the witty answer to the Sophist, conveying a severe reproof, which Plato has borrowed, *Gorg.* 490. E. 491. B. [in the latter passage Plato *explains* the joke, in a very unworthy and matter of fact manner]—*Mem.* i. 2. 6. his opinion of taking money for the privilege of intercourse and conversation; *Ib.* 7,

life, and method of philosophising, justify the position assigned to him in the Platonic dialogues as the systematic and

uncompromising opponent of them and their principles.

8.—1. 6. the two conversations with Antiphon the Sophist (who wanted to rob him of his pupils and associates) upon happiness, and the sophistical profession: especially § 13 on the mercenary character of these teachers, who prostitute themselves by selling their wisdom or learning to any one that likes to purchase it, and so obtain the name of Sophists—a passage which, if it stood alone, would be quite sufficient to show the opinion that Socrates must have entertained of them: and from iv. 6. 1, it follows that his views of the communicability of knowledge were diametrically opposite to those of Gorgias—Σωκράτης γὰρ τοὺς μὲν εἰδότες, τί ἕκαστον εἴη τῶν ὄντων, ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἂν ἐξηγεῖσθαι δύνασθαι—as in fact his entire philosophical method, described in the same passage, was directly opposed to the rhetorical epideictic harangues (whence, as Plato says, you could never get any explanation of any thing) in which the Sophists were in the habit of setting forth their views of the nature of things. From these and similar considerations, I do not see how Socrates could well have entertained any other feeling towards them than that of, not personal hostility, but contempt for their pretensions and dislike of their teaching. This feeling is in fact shown in the cautionary lecture which he gives to the young Hippocrates, who had asked to be introduced to Protagoras, with the view of placing himself under his tuition, Protag. 312. B.—314. c; and as this dialogue is generally considered the most Socratic of Plato's works, and was probably written by him during his master's life-time, it seems most natural to suppose that Socrates really did regard the Sophistical system of teaching as he is here represented by Plato to have done.

As to Xenophon's own opinion of them as a class, to say nothing of the Memorabilia from which so much has been already quoted, a pretty strong one may be found in the 13th chapter of the little treatise *de Venatione*. Mr Grote, who refers to the passage in a note p. 497, characterises it "as a sharp censure with very little that is specific or distinct." As evidence of the character of their teaching it is definite enough for our purpose; and what motive could *Xenophon* have had for misrepresenting them? as Socrates was "not hostile to them," Xenophon at any rate could not have derived his prejudice from his master; and he at all events was no speculative visionary who looked at things from a different point of view and therefore misjudged these

practical trainers of youth. He says that they profess to lead young men to virtue, but do in fact lead them to the very opposite: for we have never seen a single person whose character the Sophists have improved, nor are their writings such as to make good men. They have written much, he continues, on subjects of idle speculation [Xenophon it must be remembered was not of a philosophical turn of mind] from which youth may derive vain pleasure but gain no advance in virtue. Further on he speaks of them as practising the art of cheating: hints that they make men not wise (σοφούς) and good, but like themselves σοφιστικούς, idle disputants and fallacious reasoners: what they write seems to be useful, but is not: "the Sophists," he concludes, "speak for the purpose of deceiving, and write for their own profit, and do no good to any body: for none of them is at all wise, nor ever was, but it is sufficient for them to obtain the name of Sophist, which is a disgrace in the eyes of all men of sense. And I advise men to beware of the professions of the Sophists, but not to condemn the reasonings of philosophers; for the Sophists hunt after young and wealthy persons, whilst the philosophers are common to all and friends of all: but as to the accidental fortunes of men they are indifferent."

I have quoted this passage somewhat at length, because Mr Grote in the analysis given of it in his note has hardly done justice to its force and severity. It conveys in distinct and formal terms the same charge of *δυσκολία* which is implied in Plato's comic representation, and Aristotle's grave analysis; great professions and no performance; show without substance; ostentatious display without solid acquirements or sound principles: in short the *δοκεῖν*, but not the *εἶναι*.

To the same effect is a passage of Isocrates, *κατὰ τῶν Σοφ.* §1, which Mr Grote amidst his numerous references to this author has unaccountably omitted to notice. He begins by saying that "If all that undertake to teach would only tell the truth and not make greater promises than they intended to perform, they would never have got an ill name from unprofessional persons" (comp. Arist. Eth. IX. 1, already quoted). In the same sentence the word *δυσκολεύεσθαι* is applied to them. Their audacity in attempting to persuade the young that they would teach them how to act and make them happy by that knowledge is inveighed against, §3, and the author then goes on to ridicule the small-

ness of the sum which they demand from their scholars for instruction in the art of virtue and happiness—a pitiful three or four minæ [Isocrates being himself a paid teacher could not with decency censure them for taking money at all]—and the ludicrous contradiction between their professions and performance, which is shown in their distrust of their pupil's honesty after they have taught them virtue. The 7th and 8th sections might certainly be taken for a reference to Plato's school and philosophy, were it not for the express mention previously made of taking fees and teaching how to act, neither of which touches Plato. There is the same objection to including Plato in the censure passed upon Sophists and speculators in general, and Antisthenes, Protagoras, Gorgias, Zeno, and Melissus in particular, by Isocrates in the preface to his *Helen*, (see *Hist. Gr.* p. 475, n. 1. 493, n. 1). In § 6 he says expressly, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἄλλου μέλει πλὴν τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν νεωτέρων: language which can by no possibility apply to Plato: though undoubtedly the ethical doctrine referred to in § 1 might, if it stood alone, be taken for a description of the Socratic theory of virtue, which Plato held himself in the earlier part of his philosophical career. Of the two remaining passages of Isocrates cited by Mr Grote, p. 475, n. 1, as criticisms on the Platonic dialogues, *περὶ Ἀντιδ.* § 84 contains nothing distinctive; the other, *Phil.* § 12, must I suppose be understood as an allusion to Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*—ἀλλ' ὁμοίως οἱ τοιοῦτοι τῶν λόγων ἄκυροι τυγχάνουσιν ὅντες τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ταῖς πολιτείαις ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν γεγραμμέναις—a silly sarcasm conceived in the very worst taste and feeling, considering that Plato died the year before (his death occurred 347 B. C., the *Philip* was written 346), and eminently worthy of its author. But that Isocrates at the age of 90 should have spitefully classed with the Sophists in a passing allusion a man who differed from them in every possible respect¹³, ought not to invalidate his testimony against the real Sophists¹⁴, which he published at a much

¹³ Mr Grote seems to think, p. 475, that there was a standing feud between Plato and Isocrates arising from the difference of their pursuits and habits of mind. Heindorf supposes *Euthyd.* 305. C. to be meant for a description of Isocrates; but no name is there given, and most Editors hold a different opi-

nion. Isocrates is most favourably noticed, *Phædr.* 278. E. 279. B. However, Isocrates, it must be admitted, was no friend to philosophers and their speculations, *περὶ Ἀντιδ.* § 268.

¹⁴ When Isocrates speaks (*de Perm.* § 168) of the κοινὴ περὶ τοὺς σοφιστὰς διαβολή we are not to forget that he

earlier age in the treatise *κατὰ τῶν Σοφιστῶν*. I should not have referred at all to the statements of this vain foolish rhetorician, whose choice of a word or phrase would, I should think, in most cases have been determined by the number of its syllables, its value in rounding off a period, by the most paltry considerations of vanity or personal liking, or the reverse—in short by anything rather than the truth and justice of the impression they would convey,—had not the language of the first sections of the last-named work corresponded so nearly in substance with the statements of higher authorities that I thought it worth while to throw them into the scale with the rest—*valeant quantum*.

We have now gone through the principal writers who speak of the Sophists, and have endeavoured to trace in them all certain general features which they unite in ascribing to them as a class. These characteristics are, as we have seen, quackery and ostentation, fallacious reasoning for the purpose of deception, vast pretensions and slender performance in their profession of teaching, to which Plato adds philosophical and practical principles subversive of public and private morality, and Xenophon the courting of wealthy youth with a view to their own pecuniary advantage. We have now to notice certain special traits and doctrines attributed to individuals of the class¹⁵. We will begin with Protagoras, the most important, and apparently the most influential.

This Sophist has an especial claim to our attention as the author and maintainer of the famous philosophical theory, *πάντων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος*, some of the consequences of which, as they are deduced by Plato, we have already touched upon. It seems to have been common in its spirit, if not in the letter, to most of the class.

Mr Grote in his discussion of this doctrine, pp. 504—6, observes that we know scarcely any thing of the elucidations or limitations with which Protagoras may have accompanied his general position; and that modern authors have no right to heap insults upon it beyond those which Plato, who had good means

was a pupil of Gorgias, and himself called a Sophist, and in this instance at least the Athenian public cannot be charged with any very undue extension of the use of the term.

phists as they are delineated by Plato I may refer my readers—i miei venticinque lettori, as Manzoni says—to Mr Grote's own chapter, though his copy of Plato's portrait is, I think, a good deal more favourable than the original.

¹⁵ For the characters of these So-

of knowing how it was guarded by its author, recognises. Undoubtedly: but we may at any rate follow the guidance of Plato in our interpretation of the theory, more especially as in this instance there is no trace of satire, but the doctrine and its consequences have all the appearance of being fairly, if not favourably, stated. Mr Grote has himself quoted Theæt. p. 164. E. in support of this, to which add the whole defence of the theory put into the mouth of Protagoras, 165. E—168. C. *παίσεις, ὁ Σώκρατες, πᾶν γὰρ νεανικῶς τῷ ἀνδρὶ βεβοήθηκας*. Plato states that it identifies sensation and knowledge—a position which a high authority (Whewell, *Phil. Ind. Sci.* II. 288) tells us is “victoriously refuted.” So far there was no novelty, and perhaps no mischief, in Protagoras’ philosophy—the earlier speculators in general confounded thought and sensation, *Arist. de Anim.* III. 3. *καὶ ὁ γε ἀρχαῖοι τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι ταῦτόν εἶναι φασιν*. But he went farther and identified *φαίνεσθαι* and *εἶναι*, ‘seeming’ and ‘being,’ Theæt. 166. C. D. E. 152. A. *alib.*, which, though a convenient theory for those whose *φανομένη σοφία* would have been thereby converted into real wisdom, appears to be of questionable tendency when carried into the domain of ethics. In fact it leads to the principle above quoted, Theæt. 167. C., that whatever *seems* just and right to each city, [and of course to each individual, since *every man* is a measure to himself] that to her *is* right, as long as she sanctions it, or deems it to be so. Presently after (169. A.) the application of the theory to Theodorus’ own science of mathematics is hinted at—it would follow that every one is equally with Theodorus himself “the measure of diagrams:” as every thing is to every one what it seems, and there are no general principles of reasoning, mathematical (like moral) science becomes impossible and *αὐταρκῇ ἕκαστον εἰς φρόνησιν ποιεῖ ὁ λόγος*, 169. D. In the *Euthydemus*, p. 284. C., another consequence of this theory is stated to have been held by Protagoras and his followers, *οἱ ἀμφὶ Πρωταγόραν*—the absurd paradox, viz. (afterwards maintained by Antisthenes) *ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντιλέγειν*, that is, as Plato interprets it, *ὡς οὐκ ἔστι ψευδῇ λέγειν*. Aristotle, *Met.* III. 4, (a passage for which I am indebted to Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Ph.* § 186) further explains this, and says that it is a necessary consequence of Protagoras’ theory. According to it, a man, a wall, and a trireme will be all one and the same: “for if the man seems to any one not to be a trireme, it is plain that he is not a

trieme: as [read *ῥῶτε* for *ῥοτε*] he also *is*, if the counter-statement be equally true."

Confining ourselves thus to the words of Plato and Aristotle, "who had good means of judging the theory," we have, I think, shown that it was susceptible of a mischievous application both to philosophy and morals: it led, in fact, in the latter, to the antisocial doctrines condemned by Plato in the *Laws*, and advocated by Callicles in the *Gorgias*. In perfect consistency with his philosophical creed was the religious scepticism of its author; he commenced his famous treatise, the *Ἀληθεία*, with the words "Concerning the gods I cannot be sure whether they exist or not: for many are the things which prevent our obtaining certainty on the point, the obscurity of the subject, and the shortness of human life." The consequences of such a doctrine in religion may be illustrated to us by the opinions of a modern sceptical English writer, that each man has an internal revelation in himself, and that this is the only revelation possible. This is, in fact, Protagoras' position applied to our religious creed. Every man is by this made the measure of his own religion, and every standard of religious truth, external to himself, is hereby denied. The logical result of this would of course be the rejection of revealed religion; just as, in the case of the Sophists, the logical result of this teaching was the rejection of the existing basis of morality and social well being, the binding nature of the traditions and generally recognised principles of Ethics, and the laws and customs under which men lived. Supposing it were true that Protagoras himself deduced no such licentious anti-social consequences from his own theory; yet surely a moral teacher, who assumes the office of educating young men for public life, must be held responsible for ill consequences so easily and obviously deducible from the doctrine which he inculcated; more especially as his pupils were of a class who had all the opportunity and temptation to pervert and misapply it. But I am more disposed to think that he was totally regardless of all moral consequences in general, and of those that might be derived from his own philosophical dogma in particular. It seems to me that his instructions in the art of rhetoric, as he understood it, may be taken as a proof of this. He taught his pupils the art of "making the worse appear the better cause," of defeating the ends of justice, and making falsehood prevail over

truth. "Men," says Aristotle, *Rhet.* II. 24. ult. "were justly indignant at this—*ψευδός τε γάρ ἐστι, καὶ οὐκ ἀληθές, ἀλλὰ φαινόμενον, καὶ ἐν οὐδεμίᾳ τέχνῃ ἀλλ' ἐν ῥητορικῇ καὶ ἐριστικῇ.*" So that in the opinion of that great master of the Art of Rhetoric, the Protagorean practice was no art at all, but only another of the Sophistical "shams," immoral, and justly censurable. As to the representation of Protagoras' character and opinions in the Platonic dialogue of that name, I have already observed that Plato's object in general—and certainly in this particular dialogue—is rather to exhibit the Sophists in the light of impostors who have undertaken to teach what they themselves do not understand, than in that of immoral and unprincipled men in any other sense. But I may observe that Protagoras' own statement of what he professes to teach, which Mr Grote, p. 521, appeals to as "a large scheme of practical duty," "good counsel in their domestic and family relations, and how best to qualify themselves to speak and act in public life" (which is a truer rendering of *περὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως, ὅπως τὰ τῆς πόλεως δυνατώτατος εἶη καὶ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν* than "to speak and act . . . for the weal of the city") does not necessarily include any moral considerations: and indeed the object which the two most profligate men of the day in Athenian estimation, *Alcibiades* and *Critias*, had in view when they sought the company of Socrates is expressed by Xenophon in precisely the same terms, *Mem.* I. 2. 15. *νομίσαντες, εἰ ὁμιλησάμεν ἐκεῖνον, γενέσθαι ἂν ἱκανωτάτω λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν.* Gorgias' instruction in virtue—to pass on from Protagoras to the next of the Sophists in distinction and importance—was of a very similar kind. His definition of "a man's virtue" as described by Meno, who shares his opinions, (*Meno.* 71. D. E.) is "to be qualified to take a part in public business, and in doing so to serve his friends and injure his enemies, whilst he takes good care to secure himself against all risk of the like." A woman's virtue, again, is "to manage the household affairs discreetly, to be thrifty and obedient to her husband." From this division of male and female virtue, one might perhaps infer that in Protagoras' "scheme" "the good counsel in domestic and family relations" belonged to the softer sex, whilst the virtue of the man was to be exercised exclusively in public affairs; but, not to press this point, I cannot but think that this definition of virtue by Gorgias is, in a moral point of view, of a somewhat negative character. It certainly is not in itself immoral,

according to the ordinary Greek standard; but if this was all the virtue he taught, I question if the morals of his pupils would have derived any great benefit from his instructions: and if we further consider the rhetoric which he *did* teach, as well as the virtue which he did *not*; rhetoric, of which according to Socrates in the *Gorgias* the object was (I adopt Mr Grote's own words, p. 526) "to cheat an ignorant audience into persuasion without knowledge, and to satisfy the passing caprice without any regard to the permanent welfare and improvement of the people¹⁶;" we may easily see how such training may, or I should rather say must, have had an injurious effect on the principles of the wealthy young aspirants to political distinction who attended his lectures.

However, we need not trouble ourselves to ascertain what were Gorgias' sentiments on the subject of virtue; for it appears from the *Meno*, 95. c. that he not only did not profess to teach it himself, but laughed at those that did—his only aim was to make men "clever," *δευοῦς*; so that he left his rhetoric to produce its full corrupting effect upon the minds of his youthful hearers unguarded by any moral precepts or principles. Though at the same time Polus and Callicles tell us (*Gorg.* 461. B. 482. c.) that Gorgias was ashamed to make this admission when he was asked the question, and was obliged out of compliment to the vulgar prejudice on the subject to say that he did teach virtue and justice as well as rhetoric: as indeed he *does* to Socrates in the *Gorgias*, and involves himself in a contradiction thereby.

Nor was this all. Gorgias had also a philosophical creed—if opinions amounting to the purest scepticism deserve to be called a creed—which illustrates well enough the character of the man's mind, and affords an indication of the probable nature of his instructions in subjects of a more practical kind. It was, as we find it stated by the Aristotelian author of the treatise *de Xenophane Zenone et Gorgia*, οὐκ εἶναι φησιν οὐδέν· εἰ δ' ἔστιν, ἄγνωστον εἶναι· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔστι καὶ γνωστόν, ἀλλ' οὐ δηλωτὸν ἄλλοις, c. 5. This is confirmed by Sext. Empir. [*R. and Pr. H. Ph.* § 190] ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἢ περὶ φύσεως τρία κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς

¹⁶ The definition of this Sophistical rhetoric which Socrates arrives at after some conversation with the Professor, *Gorg.* 459. B. is this: αὐτὰ μὲν τὰ πράγματα οὐδὲν δεῖ αὐτὴν εἰδέναι ὅπως ἔχει, μηχανὴν δὲ τινα πειθοῦς εὐρηκέναι ὥστε

φαλεῖσθαι τοῖς οὐκ εἰδόσι μᾶλλον εἰδέναι τῶν εἰδότων: a fair enough account of the practice of the art in courts of law and public assemblies ancient and modern; another of the sophistical "shams." *Comp.* 459. c.—E.

κεφάλαια κατασκευάζει· ἐν μὲν καὶ πρῶτον ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔστιν· δεύτερον ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἔστιν ἀκατάληπτον ἀνθρώπῳ· τρίτον ὅτι εἰ καὶ καταληπτόν, ἀλλὰ τοίγε ἀνέξοιστον καὶ ἀνερμήνευτον τῷ πέλας. Isocrates also in two passages speaks distinctly on this point, *de Perm.* § 268. ὁ μὲν ἄπειρον τὸ πλήθος ἔφησεν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων Παρμενίδης δὲ καὶ Μέλισσος ἐν, *Γοργίας* δὲ παντελῶς οὐδέν· and *Helen.* § 3. πῶς γὰρ ἂν τις ὑπερβάλαιτο *Γοργίαν* τὸν τολμήσαντα λέγειν ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἔστιν. I have been obliged to quote these statements—which seem explicit enough—at length, because Mr Grote, p. 507, has put a different construction upon Gorgias' thesis to that which it has been hitherto understood to bear. He holds it to be a denial not of existence in general, but only of "existence" in the Eleatic sense; that is, the τὸ εἶν, or ultra-phænomenal existence. How this can be proved from the words in which the theory is stated I am at a loss to conceive. There are not two ways of interpreting οὐδὲν ἔστι. It cannot mean "the Eleatic One is not" or "ultra-phænomenal existence is not," which would have been τὸ εἶν or τὸ ὄν οὐκ ἔστιν, or in short any thing but "nothing is." And further, why should Gorgias, if he "followed in the steps of Zeno and Melissus" (p. 507, not. 1), who acknowledged the existence of "the one" and denied that of "the many" or phænomena, have directed *their* arguments (see Brandis in *Biogr. Dict. art. Gorgias*) *against* that which they were invented to defend, and *not* have used them against the possibility of motion, change, and objects of sense in general, which Zeno's logic was expressly employed to call in question? And why in Gorgias' case should there be any "legitimate filiation" of his doctrines "from the Eleatic philosophers?" Gorgias was not a pupil of Parmenides or Zeno or Melissus, but of Empedocles; *Men.* 76. c. Stallb. not.: and Empedocles taught nothing about τὸ εἶν or ultra-phænomenal existence: there is therefore no reason why he should have denied ultra-phænomenal rather than phænomenal existence; positive statements are directly against such a supposition; and it may fairly be concluded that Gorgias as well as Protagoras fully deserves the charge of scepticism that has been brought against him (see p. 509); and that this their philosophical creed entirely justified the ill opinion which sounder and more serious thinkers entertained of their teaching. As Protagoras and Gorgias with Prodicus are universally admitted to have been the most respectable members of the class, I might here quit this part of

the subject, and leave the inference to be drawn as to the character of the rest from what has been said of these two. However at the risk I fear of wearying my readers, I will add a few words about the others.

The Apologue of the Choice of Hercules, the verse of Aristophanes, Nub. 361, and the declaration of Socrates (Theæt. 151. B.) that he had sent a great many pupils to Prodicus, have availed to rescue this latter Sophist from the moral pillory in which the rest of his brethren have been for ages exposed. I will not impugn the justice of this exception, nor call in question the truth of Mr Grote's remarks upon the character of Prodicus—I will only observe that we may believe Prodicus to have been the author of a popular and pretty moral Apologue, which conveyed, according to the Greek notions, an adequate view of a man's duties and obligations, without having our confidence in Plato's candour and integrity in the smallest degree shaken thereby (see p. 518). Plato represents Prodicus in the Protagoras as a man of lazy luxurious habits, and moreover a good deal of a coxcomb and somewhat of a charlatan; and at the beginning of the Cratylus there is a sly allusion to the high fee which he exacted for one of his lectures. But I am not aware that he anywhere accuses him of immoral doctrines or practice; and surely ridiculous verbal distinctions and a habit of lying late in bed under a great many blankets (Protag. 315. D.) are not incompatible with the purest and soundest ethical teaching. I must be allowed to repeat my former question. What conceivable motive could Plato have had for delineating Prodicus' intellectual and personal character in other than its true colours? If he was *not* a vain man rather given to trifling with the distinctions of words why should Plato have chosen to represent him so? As to his 50 drachma lecture, *that* is mentioned by other writers, comp. Arist. Rhet. III. 14, and is at least no invention of Plato.

The nature of Hippias' teaching may be gathered from Xen. Mem. IV. 4. 6, where he so candidly confesses that his great object is to say something new: *ib.* 14, the obligation to obey the laws of one's country is disputed because they are so often changed: in Protag. 337. C. he refers to the opposition of *φύσις* and *νόμος*, and speaks of the law as a tyrant which forces men to do many things contrary to nature. Amongst those who

attributed a pernicious system of teaching to Hippias, we must not forget his brother Professor, Protagoras, who—it may be from a feeling of professional jealousy and rivalry, and with the view perchance of counteracting the dazzling effect of Hippias' multifarious accomplishments upon his own intended pupil Hippocrates—accuses him in plain terms of “depraving or injuring the youth,” *οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι λωβῶνται τοὺς νέους . . . καὶ ἅμα εἰς τὸν Ἱππίαν ἀπέβλεψε*, Protag. 318. ε. On Hippias' various literary and scientific acquisitions the author of the *Μαργίτης* would, it is likely, have pronounced *πολλ' ἥπιστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ' ἥπιστατο πάντα*—a not very uncommon result of the study and profession of a great variety of arts—and I dare say Plato and Aristotle would have assented to the poet's observation. The prominent feature in the man's character seems to have been a most egregious vanity and conceit of knowledge, which led him, like Gorgias, to offer to answer questions or make speeches upon any subject proposed to him. This braggart ostentation is brought out into high relief in Plato's *Protagoras* and *Hippias Major*. The principal subject of his instruction was however rhetoric, which he no doubt taught in the same manner, and with the same result, as his sophistical brethren. Mr Grote, p. 525, tells us that not only is there no imputation upon Hippias of having preached a low or corrupt morality, but that Plato inserts that which furnishes good though indirect proof of the contrary. He refers to the *ἐπιδείξις* which the Sophist says (*Hipp. Maj.* 286. α.) he had just delivered at Sparta with the greatest success and distinction. After some further remarks upon the high moral tone of the composition, Mr Grote concludes, p. 526, “Morality preached by Nestor for the edification of Neoptolemus might possibly be too high for Athenian practice; but most certainly it would not err on the side of corruption, selfishness, or over-indulgence. We may fairly presume that this discourse would not be unworthy in spirit and purpose to be placed by the side of ‘the Choice of Hercules,’ nor its author by that of Prodicus as a moral teacher.” Possibly not: but all that *Plato* says to justify this eulogium is this:—Hippias loquitur,—“Here is the occasion and commencement of my tale. After the taking of Troy, my story relates that Neoptolemus inquired of Nestor in what good habits consist: by what practices a young man might acquire the greatest distinction. After this Nestor is the speaker, and

suggests to him a great number of very fine moral maxims. This speech I say I 'exhibited' at Sparta, and I mean to exhibit it here the day after to-morrow." Philostratus in his life of Hippias patches up a brief title for the speech out of this passage of Plato, and this I believe is all that remains to us of Prodicus' *ἐπιδείξις*.

Having examined in detail the opinions, general and particular, which we find ascribed to these four, by far the most important and influential of their class, I will only touch very slightly on the remainder. Polus is admitted by Mr Grote, p. 527, to exhibit "insolence" (in the Gorgias), but it is asserted that he maintained no immoral doctrine. I may observe here once for all that Mr Grote seems sometimes to argue as if nothing short of a republication of the second table of the Decalogue with the negatives omitted can sustain a charge of immoral teaching. Neither Polus nor any of the Sophists were, as far as we know, immoral teachers in this sense. They lowered the tone of morality in a less direct way by encouraging a sceptical habit of mind in those who frequented their society, they taught them to call in question the religious faith and principles which had regulated the conduct of their fathers, those universal laws and natural convictions, the *ἀγραφα νόμιμα*, vague and indefinite enough no doubt, to which men had been accustomed tacitly to appeal. They educated young men for public life, and sent them out into the world qualified to speak and to act, dexterous in the use of their tongues and mental faculties, *δεινοί* in every sense of the word, not only clever but formidable, or rather all the more formidable on account of their cleverness,—men of whom Pheidippides in the Nubes is an overcharged portrait;—but promoted no scientific study and no serious purpose; inculcated no sound principles of morality and no distinctions between right and wrong. The sum of Greek and of heathen virtue in general was to be *νόμιμος* and *δίκαιος* (similarly Horace, *Vir bonus est quis? Qui consulta patrum qui leges juraque servat*). The Sophists pronounced that justice and the laws are conventions, that the aim and end of the Rhetoric which they professed and taught was to make the unrighteous cause triumph over the just. Surely this was bad and immoral teaching, even though it enabled a man to make a successful defence in a court of justice or a brilliant harangue

before a popular assembly. However Polus, as his advocate Callicles alleges on his behalf, Gorg. 482. D., is merely deterred by shame from maintaining an immoral thesis; and indeed we know so little of him, except that he was a pupil of Gorgias, whose opinions and method he adopted, and a writer on rhetoric, that all we can say about him is, that what we *do* know of his character and system is not to his credit.

The same may be said of Thrasymachus, for a description of whose views and character we may refer to Plato in the Republic, Book I., and to Mr Grote's own pages, 536, sq.

Of Callicles it is admitted, p. 528, that he advances an anti-social doctrine, only it is pleaded on behalf of the Sophists generally, that Callicles did not belong to that class, p. 531; and that they are not to be charged with any opinion that he may have held. Now even if Callicles were not a Sophist himself, he is still a pupil of Gorgias, and therefore the best possible example that can be adduced of the tendency of the sophistical and rhetorical teaching. He exaggerates the doctrines of his master, and exhibits the result of his principles in its full deformity. However it appears from a passage above quoted, *de Soph. Elench.* c. 12, that though Plato does not represent Callicles as a Sophist, Aristotle classes him with them, referring at the same time to the Gorgias; and cites him as one of those who employed in reasoning the well-known sophistical distinction of *κατὰ φύσιν* and *κατὰ νόμον*.

Mr Grote himself attempts no defence of Euthydemus and Dionysodorus, but abandons them without reserve to our censure: only urging on behalf of the class in which they are included, that they are not to be considered fair specimens of it, p. 540, not.

Of Antiphon the Sophist, whose conversations with Socrates are reported by Xenophon, Mem. I. 6, we know scarcely anything. Philostratus confounds him with Antiphon the Rhamnusian. He was an epic poet, and may be the same person who is mentioned by Aristotle *περὶ Σοφ.* εἰ. c. 11, p. 172. a. 7, and *π. φvs. ἀκροάσ.* c. 2. 186. a. 17, as a Sophist, the author of some deceptive method of squaring the circle. Mr Grote passes him over in silence. Xenophon, whose object is to exhibit Socrates' virtue rather than the errors of others, gives us only three short questions from Antiphon, to which Socrates makes long replies.

to be sure is not much to found an opinion upon; but it arises from what he does say that his main object in life was to make himself comfortable, and that to secure this he followed the lucrative profession of a Sophist. Perhaps no further inference can be fairly drawn from Xenophon's account.

Besides those already mentioned, Zeno, Aristippus and Antisthenes¹⁷ are also spoken of as Sophists by Aristotle, Diogenes and others. I will not attempt to put in any plea in extenuation, but am quite content that they should bear the full amount of blame, whatever that may be, which is implied in the name. Aristippus deserved it by his character, and Zeno and Antisthenes their style of reasoning: they also all took fees for their services, that is, if we can trust the evidence of the pseudo-Plato in the case of Zeno. See above, p. 151.

I have so far endeavoured to show how this new class of actors called Sophists was distinguished from their predecessors, and how far, not our own conjectures and inferences, but plain statements of their Athenian contemporaries, entitle us to ascribe to them immoral doctrines and teaching.

It is harder to determine the next question that arises with regard to them: viz. to what extent they held any common philosophical opinions or views of life and morality which would justify considering them as "a sect." Mr Grote, (pp. 509, 10. 524.) holds that "there were no common doctrines, principles or modes which distinguished them from others." This seems to me too sweeping a denial: and I will therefore give the substance of Zeller's observations upon the subject, which present as much a much fairer statement of the case. He has discussed the philosophical character of the Sophists in a particularly candid and temperate spirit; and his remarks, of which, so far as they seem to me to be well founded, I shall give the general

Antisthenes was originally a pupil of Gorgias from whom he may have derived his thesis, *οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντιλέγειν*, which Aristotle censures (Metaph. IV. 124. b. 33). This becomes more intelligible when we consider what Aristotle says, Met. III. 4, that it also follows as a necessary consequence from Gorgias' dogma, *πάντων μέτρον ἀνέστιν*, and might incline us to believe

that Gorgias abandoned his own pure scepticism in favour of the modified form of it which was held by his brother Sophist. Antisthenes afterwards attached himself to Socrates, and became so warm an admirer of him that Xenophon tells us, Memor. III. 11, 17, that he never quitted his side. He was one of the company present in the prison at Socrates' death. Phæd. 59. B.

drift, are to be found in the 12th section of his first volume, pp. 255, sq. He observes that although it is directly stated of Gorgias and Protagoras alone that they expressly contested the possibility of exact knowledge or science, and that indeed in the case of Prodicus and Hippias this is decidedly improbable; still the despair of all objective truth is characteristic of the whole class: for though it did not amount to *theoretical* scepticism (positively enunciated) in all of them, yet the sophistical practice presupposes the impossibility of attaining to any higher knowledge. This peculiar feature in the class is pointed out by Plato in passages¹⁸, where he speaks not merely of degenerate Sophists of the second generation, as in the *Euthydemus*, but where he refers generally to the sophistical method of philosophizing. The art which they practise is destructive of all true knowledge—it is that of disputing on either side upon any question, ἀντιλογική τέχνη—and their aim is to instruct their hearers in the same, ἀμφισβητητικούς ποιεῖν. This is exemplified in the “profession of Protagoras” in rhetoric, τὸν ἦττω λόγον κρείττε ποιεῖν, to which Aristotle, *Rhet.* II. 24, applies such uncomplimentary expressions¹⁹, in the boastful pretension of Hippias (*Xen. Mem.* iv. 4, 6), that he had always something new to say upon every subject. All this implies an utter practical disregard of objective truth and would be expressed theoretically by the denial of it: as indeed it was by Protagoras and Gorgias; whose philosophical importance consisted mainly in this, that they raised to a conscious theory what with the rest was only a practical habit. The necessary consequence of such a theory of knowledge was that they were driven to practice and to action. But the principle on which their practice and their theory are based is the same. As in the one case all absolute and general truth is denied, so in the other the obligation of existing laws and customs is attacked: and on the same ground, viz. that they are subjective and therefore change with the caprice of the subject, or as the Sophists expressed it, justice, laws and so forth

¹⁸ *Phæd.* 90. B. *Soph.* 232. *Rep.* v. 454. A. VII. 539. A. *Phileb.* 15. D. To which add *Phileb.* 17. A. *Phæd.* 101. E. Stallb. on *Rep.* v. 454. A.

¹⁹ Here again the pervading character of the Sophistical practice and habit of mind, an entire absence of

science and regard for truth, reappears. Protagoras' art of rhetoric like his philosophy and ethics, and system of education was all for show—all sham—*φαντασμα*—he was a sham wise man himself, and imparted a sham wisdom to others.

are established and exist νόμος, "by convention," ἀλλ' οὐ φύσει. As examples of this connection between their theory and practice the following instances are cited, Xen. Mem. iv. 4. 14. 20, where Hippias contests the truth of a moral principle by the observation, that it is not universally received; and argues against laws in general and the obligation to obey them on the ground that they are liable to be changed at any moment: again Protag. 337. D. where he is made to say that the law is a tyrant which forces us to do many things contrary to nature. That laws are a mere convention is a sentiment put into the mouth of Protagoras, Theæt. 167. C. [in a passage in which his views are represented in the most favourable light, and where therefore no exaggeration can be suspected], and especially connected with his theory of knowledge, "whatsoever seems to each city just and right, to her this is so, so long as she sanctions it." So Thrasymachus, Rep. i. 338. C. sq. maintains that right is nothing but the interest of the stronger, and in every state the rulers make laws for their own advantage. And Calicles, the pupil of the Sophists, Gorg. 482, sq. insisting on the distinction of φύσις and νόμος lays down a similar doctrine. We cannot however suppose, continues Zeller, that all these doctrines were maintained by all the Sophists, but a like spirit led to similar results in all.

All the passages here referred to, together with others not adduced by Zeller, have been already brought forward. They seem to prove that Protagoras' doctrine in its spirit, if not in the letter, was common at least to several of the class; together with a certain practical, and in most of them theoretical, scepticism; which they expressed as Plato and Aristotle distinctly tell us by the opposition of things existing φύσει and νόμος (see de Legg. de Soph. El. II. cc.): further they were all alike distinguished by a similar method of reasoning, and by a similar system of instruction based upon similar principles, though perhaps not comprising in all cases the same doctrines, and tending to a like result. Moreover they had certain common characteristics personal and professional with which we are not here immediately concerned. All this is doubtless not enough to constitute them a "doctrinal sect" or philosophical school; but neither is it fair to say on the other hand that they had absolutely no doctrines principles or method in common: and it

certainly justified their contemporaries in speaking of them as a peculiar class, and applying to them a common name.

We have next to speak of the name by which this class was specially designated. Mr Grote, pp. 479—481, has collected a number of examples of the application of the word *σοφιστής*, with the view of showing that it was a term common to all artists, and literary and professional people—carrying with it however an invidious and unfriendly feeling—and was not applied to “the Sophists” in any special or unusual sense, except by Plato.

The word *σοφιστής* deserves a little further examination. The termination *στης*—or rather *της*, for the *σ* comes from the *ζ* of the verb—indicates a certain character or profession or assumption. *γραμματιστής* is a professor of letters or literature: *χρηματιστής*, one who adopts the profession of getting money, a man of business: *ἀνδραποδιστής*, one who follows the calling of a kidnapper or slave-dealer: *λήστης*, one who pursues the trade of robbery and plunder: *ἀγοραστής*, one who has the office of purchasing, a purveyor: and so on: compare *σωφρονιστής*, Thuc. III. 65. VI. 86. *ἀγωνιστής*, *φροντιστής*, &c. From this general notion of assuming a character or functions comes the more special sense of imitating, copying, pretence, as in the verbs *Μηδίζειν*, *Ἀττικίζειν*, &c., and the substantives *Ἑλληνιστής*, *Ἀττικιστής* ... so *ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι*, to “affect or play the man of honour;” similarly *Πυθαγοριστής*, *καλλωπιστής*, &c.

Hence *σοφός* is a wise man, one whom others think wise, but who does not necessarily make any profession of wisdom or learning himself: *σοφιστής* is one who professes skill or wisdom, assumes that character: and it may, according to the preceding analogies, pass into the bad sense of “one who apes or copies badly the character of a wise man,” (*μυμητής τοῦ σοφοῦ*, as Plato defines it, *Sophist.* 268. c.) a sham wise man; or sophist in the modern sense. If the foregoing observations are well founded, Mr Grote’s first explanation, p. 479, “a wise man, a clever man” is incorrect: there must at any rate be some distinction between *σοφός* and *σοφιστής*: it is amended afterwards, p. 495, where the word is translated “Professors.”

Hence it appears that the word could be employed with an inoffensive and indifferent, or even an honourable signification. And so I believe it *always* is used by the earlier writers, Pindar, Herodotus and the tragedians. [*Prom. Vinc.* 946, *σὲ τὸν σοφιστὴν, τὸν πυρρὸς κλέπτην λέγω*, is no exception because *Hermes* is there

speaking in bitter irony.] It continued so to be employed in later writers, but of course more and more rarely as the offensive connotation gained ground. Add to Mr Grote's list of instances of its favourable sense, Plat. Min. 319, ὁ Ζεὺς σοφιστῆς ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ τέχνη αὐτοῦ παγκάλη, and so Minos went to school with him παιδευθεσόμενον ὡς ὑπὸ σοφιστοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Διός. The instance in Xen. Memor. iv. 2. 1. ποιητῶν τε καὶ σοφιστῶν, "poets and prose writers," (if we accept Mr Grote's translation of the word) is very singular: and all the more so because *poets* are usually considered the men of skill or artists when they are contrasted with prose writers: whence we have *ιδιώτης*, used in contradistinction to *ποιητής*, (for example, Plat. Symp. 178. B. οὔτε ιδιώτου οὔτε ποιητοῦ) in this sense, as it is in like manner opposed to the professors of other crafts. Possibly Xenophon, who wrote prose himself, was of opinion that good prose was a work of art of a higher order than verse: but the decision of this question must be left to those who have tried and succeeded in both. As far as I know, Aristophanes in the Nubes is the first extant author who employs the term to convey a reproach: and he applies it to the new teachers who were, as he thought, corrupting the youth of Athens. Probably he did not himself fix it upon them, but adopted it from the current language, as sufficiently expressive of the contempt and aversion which he felt for them. This name they ever afterwards retained: and Protagoras, Gorgias, Prodicus, Hippias, and the rest, continued to be called οἱ σοφισταί, the Sophists par excellence; and the term seems to have been so far confined to them in popular language, that the mention of *σοφισταί* nakedly, without specification of individuals, would have always suggested these particular persons most prominently, if not exclusively, to the hearer's mind: or, when others were designated by the name in an offensive sense, they were compared directly or tacitly to these original and arch Sophists. I should infer also that it was their own personal vanity and ostentation, and the ill effects which resulted from their teaching, and *not* Plato's satire²⁰, that first attached to the word that offensive meaning which it afterwards bore. That it was not Plato at all events that "stole the word out of general circulation to fasten it in a new and special sense upon a particular class whom he disliked," pp. 479, 483, 4, is shown by the application of the

²⁰ Indeed how could it be? for the Nubes was written when Plato was six years old.

term in the *Nubes* to Protagoras and Prodicus expressly, and to the rest by implication; and still more decisively by the expressions of Socrates, *Memor.* i. 6. 13, which Mr Grote himself quotes, p. 482, not. : whence it appears that the popular feeling, which Socrates himself shared, stigmatised with this name "those who sold their wisdom for money to any one who chose to purchase it:" and that it was then a nickname or invidious term is proved not merely by the illustration, *ὡς περ πόρνοις*, but by the use of the word *ἀποκαλοῦσιν*, which commonly²¹ bears the sense of "to call names, to call by an odious or offensive appellation."

No doubt this particular word, like any other term conveying a somewhat indefinite reproach, could be applied by Isocrates or any other individual to any body whom he happened to dislike or wished to cast a slur upon—the *satirist* Timon might be thought hardly worth referring to in order to show how the term could be extended to include all philosophers—but it cannot fairly be inferred from this that there was no class of men to whom it specially and properly belonged.

All party names are particularly liable to be thus abused; but we are no more at liberty to conclude, from the ignorant or malicious misapplication of the name 'Tractarian,' for example, that it corresponded to no real distinction, and included all members of the English Church, than from the similar misuse of the word *σοφιστής* that it was equally applicable to all philosophical speculators. The extension of this term and of similar expressions of dislike by the vulgar to all philosophers, as Anaxagoras for instance (*Plat. Apol. Socr.* 23. D. *Xen. Mem.* i. 2. 31), cannot be accepted as evidence that there was no real distinction between them and the Sophists, or that the latter did not deserve the title in its invidious sense any more than the others. It is true that there was in the latter half of the 5th century B.C. a strong feeling of dislike and apprehension excited against the novel and daring speculations which were then first beginning to attract general attention—chiefly owing to the popularization of philosophical discussions by these new Professors, and the great notoriety and influence which they attained—and a violent reactionary spirit aroused, which led to the attack upon the new

²¹ Not invariably however; see an exception which Liddell and Scott
Arist. Eth. Nic. ii. 9, ult., *ὅτι δὲ τοὺς* ought to have noticed in their Lexicon.
χαλεπαίνοντας ἀνδράδεις ἀποκαλοῦμεν :

teaching in the Nubes, to the prosecution of Anaxagoras, the banishment of Protagoras, the charge of impiety against Diagoras and his consequent flight, and finally to the trial and death of Socrates: and all philosophers and philosophy shared for a time in the general odium. The middle of this century was the period of the general awakening of the reflective powers in Greece; the age of poetry and of simple faith was passing away, and the age of reason commencing; and as usually happens at a time of revolution, intellectual as well as political, the unwonted exercise of new powers, and the exulting sense of a new freedom, led men into error and excess. An audacious and indiscriminating criticism of things divine and human aroused an undefined feeling of alarm, and provoked an equally indiscriminating opposition. The Athenians saw their religious creed and their moral and social code exposed to unsparing attacks, and threatened, as they believed, with subversion: what wonder that they did not make any very nice distinctions between the different orders of speculators and the different objects they had in view, and involved them all alike in one sweeping condemnation? But may we infer from this that there were no such distinctions, or that the sophistical method of instruction philosophical and moral might fairly be placed in the same category with that of Socrates? And this brings me to the last point which we are required to examine, the distinction between Socrates and the Sophists. I should hardly have supposed that any discussion was needed on such a point; nor can I see that any thing in Mr Grote's own chapter warrants the statement of the Quarterly Reviewer (p. 550) "that, according to Mr Grote, Socrates was the great representative of the Sophists." If the Reviewer only means by this that they acted alike as public instructors, that is undoubtedly a fact—only if that be the meaning it is expressed somewhat obscurely—in any other sense I can see no ground whatever for such an assertion. The Reviewer adds to be sure "that Socrates was distinguished from them by his higher eminence, and by the peculiarity of his life and teaching." If "teaching" includes philosophy, as it no doubt did in Socrates' case, this is a tolerably liberal admission of a distinction between them; for Socrates was a philosopher and a teacher, and nothing else: but then what becomes of the difference between Mr Grote's and the "common view?" I can hardly suppose that Mr Grote himself,

whose admirable delineation of the intellectual and moral character of Socrates sets the distinction between him and the Sophists in the clearest light, could ever have spoken of him as their representative; however, as he does not except this part of the Reviewer's summary from the approbation which he expresses of it as a whole, I must endeavour in as few words as I can to point out the essential difference in almost all points between them. Socrates was a man of serious and earnest purpose, who acting under the persuasion of a divine mission devoted a life passed in poverty and self-denial to the instruction and improvement of his countrymen; and for this end he employed all his efforts to eradicate from their minds the false conceit of knowledge, and to convince them of their ignorance as the first step towards the attainment of true wisdom. This he endeavoured to effect by the exercise of a very peculiar method; those cross-examining dialectics which have been since unrivalled as they were before unprecedented. The only profession he made was that of universal ignorance. He never pretended to teach rhetoric, or indeed virtue except indirectly; though he freely offered good advice to those who sought it. He never took fees for such instruction as he gave. He was the founder of true philosophy; since he first, as Aristotle tells us in the well known passages of the *Metaphysics*, introduced inductive reasoning and general definitions, "both of which belong to the very foundation of science." Finally, his influence was exerted for good upon those with whom he came in contact, as Xenophon shows at large in the *Memorabilia*. As there was a Judas amongst the Apostles, so there might be an Aristippus, an Alcibiades, and a Critias, amongst Socrates' intimates; but upon the whole, as Xenophon assures us, his teaching was beneficial, as his intentions were honest.

The Sophists of whom he was "the representative" were showy ostentatious pretenders to universal accomplishments, who professed to give instructions in rhetoric and virtue; dishonest rhetoric and questionable virtue; the latter of which they failed to teach—as Xenophon and Isocrates, to say nothing of Plato and Aristotle, attest. Their philosophy tended to pure scepticism, and their method of reasoning has become a by-word: in Ethics they taught that virtue is a convention, and in religion that the existence of the gods was an open question: they

instructed their pupils in the art of arguing with equal plausibility on either side of a question, and appear to have set them a brilliant example by talking themselves for effect without any pretence of a scientific object or endeavour to arrive at the truth.

What was there in common between them and Socrates but their office of instructors?

It may be said that they held in common the Eudæmonistic theory of Ethics, which assigns utility or one's own interest as the end of virtue. See especially Memor. iv. 6, 8, 9. Explained as Socrates explained it, that men were to look to the interest of others as well as their own; and guarded as he guarded it by his doctrine that virtue is wisdom, i. e. a comprehensive view of one's own highest interest, which includes attention to the rights of others and a consideration of our obligations to them; the theory, though faulty in itself, was not likely to prove mischievous in practice: whereas the testimony of the ancient writers themselves—the best informed and contemporary writers—has shown us that the Sophists disseminated unsound principles which naturally led to the disregard of social and moral obligations.

Finally I will attempt to anticipate an objection which arises from the connection of men like Alcibiades and Critias, and the "Sophists" Aristippus and Antisthenes, with Socrates. As regards the two first, the charge was actually made by his accusers on his trial and mainly instrumental in bringing about his condemnation. To it Xenophon, Memor. i. 2, 12, sq. replies, that Alcibiades and Critias came to Socrates with no intention of profiting by his instruction in any other way than by catching if they could his wonderful skill and subtlety in argument, which enabled him "to do whatever he pleased with all that conversed with him;" to be employed by them in the law-courts and public assemblies: that they sought nothing but distinction, and were by nature indisposed to listen to exhortations to virtue: and to oppose to these he produces (l. c. § 48) a list of exemplary characters who *did* profit by Socrates' moral lessons, "and of whom not one, young or old, either did any harm or was ever accused of it."

With respect to Aristippus the same reply may be made, he was a profligate unprincipled man who loved nothing but his own ease and enjoyment, deserted his master and friend in the hour of need, and was doubtless incapable of deriving benefit from the

lessons even of Socrates²². Besides, Socrates had not the opportunity of forming his character, for Aristippus did not join his society at a very early age. This remark applies still more strongly to Antisthenes the *δολιμαθής*; who had moreover been a pupil of Gorgias before he came to Socrates. It certainly was not the proper application of Socrates' philosophical method—for that is the foundation of true science—which led Antisthenes to his sceptical doctrine; and no teacher can be held responsible for the *abuse* of his principles, but only for the deductions which may be logically and legitimately made from them.

E. M. COPE.

II.

On the Martyrdom and Commemorations of Saint Hippolytus.

THE memory of St Hippolytus has had wonderful transitions from fame to obscurity and round again to glory. The splendour of his name has waxed and waned most strangely.

He was the earliest and in his own time the only preacher at Rome; against two¹ popes he fought successfully for integrity in discipline and truth of doctrine; he wrote on a great variety of the most interesting subjects in divinity, philosophy, chronology; his books were voluminous and widely spread. The "Abulides" of Æthiopia, the "Ifites" of Chaldæa, he framed the canons which are to this day the basis of church-order in those countries. Yet shortly after, Eusebius only knew that he had

²² In Memor. II. 1. a conversation between them is reported in which Aristippus asserts his peculiar opinions, and Socrates combats them. The latter obtains the victory in the argument (Ib. III. 8. 1) but fails to convince his antagonist.

¹ So says Hippolytus himself: Dr Döllinger finds it necessary for his theory to presume that he prolonged the strife with Pope Pontian (and hence

with Urban) also, and that he and Pontian were selected for banishment under Maximin as being the heads of the rival factions (p. 71.) Dr Wordsworth had drawn from this same banishment a pledge of the restored unity of the Church (p. 113.) At least as Hippolytus wrote sometime after Callistus' death we may judge that so heavy-handed an antagonist would not have spared Pontian had he been a perpetuator of the Callistian heresies.

ruled some church, and Jerome who endeavoured to learn the name of his see failed wholly to discover it².

But in the fifth century, upon the road from Rome to Tivoli, in an estate called either by the name of its ancient owner Verus or by that of Cyriaca, a Christian lady who had allowed the catacombs which there belonged to her family to be used for the burial of martyred Christians, there stood, hard by the church of the great St Laurence, a crypt with a chapel and splendid shrine, where St Hippolytus was believed to rest. Thither came upon the Ides of August, the day of the saint's entombment, crowds from Etruria, crowds from Campania, and all with wives and children: the Nolan, the still haughty Capuan, the Picenian, the rough Samnite. From the nearer Alba they came in great processions; from Rome, through the gate in Aurelian's wall, distant but a mile, they came, Plebeians and Patricians, *umbonibus æquis*, shouldering together, confessing one faith, seeking the patronage of one saint. From sunrise to sunset the crowds came and went; they descended to the crypt by zig-zag flights of steps, so steep that the glare of the outer light was lost almost at once; they passed onward through the long dark galleries of the catacombs, lighted only by shafts sunk through the roof, till they came to the shrine and altar: there they gazed upon that strange picture which we almost seem to gaze on yet, so lively are the words of our eyewitness,—on the sharp stones and thorns of the briars crimsoned with the blood of the saint where the wild horses had hurried him; on the dispersed limbs, on the weeping faithful, following every winding way among the rocks, gathering every shred and relic of the sacred body, the white head, the blessed hands, with sponges and with garments wiping clean the blood. The scene never failed to awaken the deepest and most passionate emotions—the people kissed the walls lined throughout with silver, they wept upon the ground, the chapel was filled with the voice of prayer and with the fragrance of ointments poured out³.

Two or three centuries elapse, and one of the chiefest statesmen and ecclesiastics of the age, prime minister to Pepin and to Charlemagne, the powerful friend through whom Boniface, before

² Although Chev. Bunsen does say, "I have no doubt he could easily have found out what place Eusebius meant."

Vol. I. p. 204.

³ Prudentius. *Peristeph.* xi. 115—210.

his last fatal journey into Frisia, commended his disciples to the king, after several embassies successfully conducted to the courts of different popes, seeks Rome once more upon another errand. From their slumber by St Laurence in the field of Verus, the bones of Hippolytus came borne to France by Fulrad Abbot of St Denis.

As the goodliest gift which he could make to his native province of Alsace, he laid the holy relics in the abbey which he built near Markirch; called thenceforward from his name Fulrado-Villiers, or otherwise St Hippolyte, and St Bilt⁴.

Fulrad in his last will⁵ speaks affectionately of the place (which he calls by its more ancient name) as "*Cella quæ dicitur Audaldo-Villare ubi Sanctus Ipolytus requiescit*"—and if, as Mabillon concludes, the will was made in the last year of his life, (A.D. 784⁶), he probably meant the relics to rest there still. But shortly afterwards, probably by his successor Harduin, they were translated with great state to the mother church of St Denys⁷.

For a time they rested in the body of the church upon a gorgeous hearse, and finally they were removed to a chapel prepared for them, the easternmost in the north aisle of the nave, the most honourable and goodliest of all; where was preserved for many ages to the admiration of the faithful a glorious reliquary of silver-gilt, setting forth, like the more ancient painting, the manner of the martyr's death⁸. He lies upon his face, his wrists bound with cords which are fastened round the chest of a wild horse; a man seated on the creature lashes it with a long whip, and hurries the dying Saint over a rocky ground⁹.

⁴ Felibien. *Histoire de l'Abb. De St Denis*. p. 53.

⁵ Mabillon discovered this interesting document at St Denis, in two forms, the longer of which alludes to the shorter; both are signed by his own hand. *Acta SS. Ord. Benedictini*. Vol. III. p. 2.

⁶ A MS. Chronicle given by Duchesne fixes this date.

⁷ The Acts of the Translation of the relics of St Vitus to St Denys made by Fulrad, speak of Fulrad as having himself translated SS. Hippolytus and Alexander to the same place. Neither does

the will contradict this, if we suppose it to have been drawn up some time before his death. At any rate the translation took place before his epitaph was written; it is by our own Alcuin, and in the following lines:

*Iste pios patres magno dilexit amore
Quorum reliquias hæc Domus alma
tenet;*

where *patres* must refer to other saints besides *St Vitus*.

⁸ Felibien. *Appendix*, in which it is engraved.

⁹ Saussay gives the most astounding version of the Progress of the Relics

That ancient Feretory perished in the Revolution, but the sculpture of a martyr dragged by two horses still perpetuates on the face of the altar the old religion of the spot.

Again the Ides of August became, as they had been centuries before, a festival of no common order. To keep the day of St Hippolytus in the reign of the wise king Robert, the concourse to St Denys was immense: all monks absent on abbey-business returned, the provosts resident at a distance were expected to appear; no affairs however urgent prevented even the attendance of the king himself. Sceptre in hand, in a precious cope of silk, worn only on that great occasion, he took his place among the choir, and by his earnest demeanour, by the sweetness of his voice, and the joy expressed upon his countenance, quickened the devotion of the whole assembly¹⁰. The relics of St Hippolytus having left their old repose, we wonder not that at Rome the glory departed from the old festival of the Ides of August; so that we read "his worship had so gone down that now he was scarce known in the city," and Baronius tells us "that he heard there were still some traces among the vineyards of the place where the church had been."

from Rome to St Denis: he relates how they halted at St Medard first and then at Soissons, and how they extinguished a pestilence at either place. He says they were given by *Leo III.* to Charlemagne, placed by the latter at Leberaw, and after his death removed to St Denis by Fulrad his nephew. (*Martyrol.* Aug. 13 et supplm.). His account is taken (according to Dupin) from a worthless MS. of the 14th century. It will be enough to observe that there is no where else the least hint of the relics touring to Soissons; that they *certainly* never were at Leberaw; that Fulrad died 18 years before Charlemagne and was no manner of kin to him.

¹⁰ Duchesne. *Hist. Franc. Scriptores* tom. iv. p. 146. *De rebus Roberti Regis*. We may add the following story as indicative of the veneration which this shrine was wont to receive. When Pope Alexander III. visited Paris in 1159, he made the round of the chapels of St Denys: on the threshold of one he

paused to ask "whose relics it contained?" "Those of St Hippolytus" was the answer. "I don't believe it! I don't believe it! Non credo! Non credo!" replied the infallible authority. "The bones of St Hippolytus have never been removed from the Holy City." But St Hippolytus, whose dry bones apparently had as little reverence for the spiritual progeny of Zephyrinus and Callistus as the ancient Bishop's tongue and pen had manifested towards those saints themselves, was so very angry that he rumbled his bones inside the reliquary with a noise like thunder—ut rugitus tonitruï putaretur. To what lengths he might have gone if rattling had not sufficed, we dare not conjecture. But the Pope falling on his knees exclaimed in terror "I believe, O my lord Hippolytus, I believe, pray be quiet!" "Credo, Domine Hippolyte, credo; jam quiesce." And he built an altar of marble there to appease the disquieted saint.

But again in our own day the long sleep is broken. A true spirit of reverence for the great father awakes in England and in Protestant Germany, while those his old idolaters of France and Rome are labouring to brand him with the stigma of heresy, or to ascribe his great treatise to some heretic or half-heterodox Father¹¹.

So far we have pursued the posthumous story of Hippolytus as commonly reported and accepted; his Roman Festival of the Ides of August, without hesitation, by Chev. Bunsen; the rest as linked to the later celebration of *that festival*. We must now return, and exercise upon it a little criticism.

There can be no doubt that the martyr adored in France upon the Ides of August, who was supposed to rest within the wild-horse reliquary, was the same with him who in the crypt of the Ager Veranus near S. Lorenzo's *fuori le mura* was adored upon the same day as having died the self-same death.

Who then was this saint? Prudentius tells us that at Portus he was the head of the church—*Christicolis esse caput populi*—that when a presbyter he had embraced the schism of Novatus, (Novatian),—*Qui quondam schisma Novati Presbyter attigerat*—who recanted his error in the hour of death, was torn to pieces by wild-horses at Portus, was carried to Rome, and buried by devout men on the Tivoli Road.

Modern critics naturally consider the manner of death to be mythical, and indeed it is far more like a poet's or a painter's than a prefect's deed, to tear an old Christian with horses, whether because of his own unluckily suggestive name, or because of the tale of his namesake.

In the next place Bunsen has worked out, and Dr Wordsworth at more length, both the falsity of the imputation of Novatianism, and the origin of that account. Hippolytus had been dead twenty years before the rise of Novatian. But he had been noted for his opposition to, and his strong invectives against, two successive Roman bishops. Callistus had extended church-communion to the most flagrant and unrepentant sinners, and drew many into his own congregation by the offer of indulgences and re-baptism. Hippolytus, in his zeal against such profana-

¹¹ M. l'Abbe Freppel, to Hippolytus lapsed into Novatianism; Döllinger to Hippolytus as an earlier Anti-

pope than Novatian. M. l'Abbe Cruice to Tertullian: some Romanist reviewers to Origen.

tions, pushed his theory of the church so far as to exhibit a decided separatist and purist tendency: he even disallows those symbols of the church which are universally accepted, as the Wheat with Tares, and the ark of Noah¹².

In fact he may be said to have broken ground for Novatian; to have sown the seeds of hatred for papal laxity which in twenty years grew into a crop ripe for the reaping of Novatian the Puritan anti-pope¹³.

We come now to a more curious question still. Prudentius next asserts the identity of our father Hippolytus with the martyr Hippolytus, buried in the Ager Veranus, and there venerated on the Ides or 13th of August.

The statement was apparently confirmed by the discovery in 1551 of a statue of the Bishop of Portus in this same Ager Veranus. To the Chev. Bunsen and other authors this has seemed so strong a confirmation of the fact that they have wholly ignored or but slightly weighed the existence of a vast mass of tradition, not to say evidence, which would tend to resolve into two this single star of martyrdom.

¹² *Philosophumena*, p. 290. (ix. 12).

¹³ Baronius, unaware of the real half-Novatianism of Hippolytus, treated this part of the poem as a mere confusion with an Antiochian presbyter of that sect, who at his martyrdom recanted. The most satisfactory part of Dr Döllinger's chapter on the Name-sake Saints is his demolition of this Antiochian. It is most singular that the very same passage which gave rise to all the hypotheses of Hippolytus being Bp. of Bozra, also originated this other mistake. It is the passage in the Chronicle of Jerome for A. D. 230. "Geminus, Presbyter Antiochenus, Hippolytus et Beryllus, Episcopus Arabiæ Boetrenus clari scriptores habentur," which with a different stopping gives "*Presbyter Antiochenus Hippolytus*." The early martyrologies mention celebrations (among others one at Antioch) in the end of January of *S. Hippolytus martyr*. This I shall hope to shew to be without doubt our Hippolytus of Portus, whom

Ado in the ninth century, misreading the chronicle, made into an Antiochian Presbyter, and first made over to this personage the Novatian stigma which Prudentius bequeathed to the other. Döllinger however conceives that this January Hippolytus was from the first a fictitious person derived entirely from the perplexed chronicle.

I may be excused for adding here two excellent remarks of Döllinger's on Prudentius. *First*, that as an orthodox Spaniard the poet would be strongly inclined to use his licence to give a Novatianist colouring to any doctrinal bias of Hippolytus, that the recantation might be a lesson to the Novatianists of Northern Spain in his own time. *Secondly*, that Novatian especially prided himself on the adherence to his cause of so many confessors. If a famous Roman doctor had in the hour of death abjured him, we must have heard of it in the Correspondence of Cyprian on the subject (p. 61).

The Chevalier Bunsen says (Vol. i. p. 215) "I have proved¹⁴ in the *Description of Rome* that this (spot) was the place of the old Christian catacombs, called 'in Agro Verano,' a locality on the ancient Tiburtine road. That Hippolytus' remains were deposited here is attested by an authority greater as well as more ancient than that of the Spanish post. The *Calendarium Liberianum* of the year 352 (? 354) has the following article on the anniversary festival of St Hippolytus: '*Idib. Aug. Hippolyti in via Tiburtini.*' This indeed is the only authentic day connected with the history and memory of Hippolytus. Prudentius also says 'Idibus Augusti &c.'"

The value of the record in the calendar we will consider presently, but first we will observe how much is built upon it. The fourth volume of Bunsen's work opens with an account of the author's views of church-matters in England, many of them long ago published, and contains several terse statements on interesting points—as that the second epistle of St Peter is not St Peter's; and that it does not at all matter whether the book of Daniel was written by Daniel, or forged; and that Hippolytus wrote with much imperfection and presumption on the subject of Antichrist; and that the Baptism of Infants was a novelty of the 3rd century—with other propositions concerning things too sacred for us to handle here. Hippolytus is recalled to earth to be the brazen head through whom these oracles are uttered; they are entitled *his* Apology. But its contents are not so much to us just now as its outside and the prefixed announcement that it is delivered upon and in honour of "The Ides of August MDCCCLI being the Anniversary of the Deposition of the Remains of St Hippolytus in the Catacombs of the Ager Veranus." It is with these Ides of August that we are concerned, and of them Bunsen says, in a note on the above title, (Vol. iv. p. 119)

(1) "The proof (of the deposition on that day) is to be found in the very words of the old Roman Martyrology, '*Id. Aug. Romæ natalis SS. Hippolyti Martyris, Pontiani Episcopi, Cornelii.*'"

(2) He adds from "another calendar" (to which we shall refer presently as the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*) the entry of Hippolytus' *natal day* or martyrdom on *another day*, 8. Id.

¹⁴ The fact however had long been well known. Ciampini assumes it in his description of St Lorenzo's, and so does Aringhi. *Roma Subterr.* Vol. iv. 16. 3.

Aug. (6th Aug.)—This of course is little to the purpose, and he is compelled to infer from it “an *earlier deposition* in the catacombæ or cœmety of Callistus on the Appian Way.”

(3) “The deposition in Ag. Ver. is attested 50 years before Prudentius in Cal. Liber.”—as above.

(4) “The prayers relating to St Hippolytus not only in the Gregorian Sacramentary, but also in those of Gelasius, and Leo (Felix III.) are all for the Ides of August.”

From these statements two conclusions are drawn.

I. “The date now fixed for the festival of St Hippolytus by the Roman Catholic Church, the 21st of August, (xi Kal. Sept.) is consequently quite arbitrary. Indeed it is of very late date, and perhaps supported only by the authority of Baronius.”

II. “It is therefore quite accurate that the day of commemoration ought to be the 13th of August.”

I shall attempt to shew I. That the 21st of August, the day fixed for St Hippolytus of Portus, does not rest *at all* upon the authority of Baronius, but is of very early date, and no more arbitrary than any other immoveable feast. II. That it is *most inaccurate* to commemorate him on the 13th of August, inasmuch as that day has long been appropriated, and in all probability always was appropriated to *another* St Hippolytus.

We must preface our argument with a bare outline of the story of St Laurence¹⁵, though we have not space to allude to its most beautiful and touching details.

St Laurentius was chief of the deacons of the city of Rome: St Sixtus, then Bishop, his beloved friend and father in the faith. In the persecution of Valerian Sixtus suffered death, and three days afterwards Laurentius was seized. He was committed to the custody of Hippolytus a soldier of rank. In his brief imprisonment he converted his jailor and baptized him with all his house. He suffered death without the walls in the Ager Veranus, and was buried near the place by Hippolytus and a presbyter Justinus. Hippolytus soon made confession of his faith¹⁶, and was martyred with his family; Concordia his aged nurse was

¹⁵ Bunsen by some oversight calls this saint, “Rome’s *protomartyr*,” (Vol. I. p. 215), and again, “the western *protomartyr*.” (Vol. I. p. 223).

¹⁶ There is a tone of genuineness in

the question which Ado relates as put by the prefect to Hippolytus: “Numquid et tu *magus effectus es* quia corpus Laurenti abstulisse diceris.”

scourged to death with thongs loaded with lead¹⁷. Justinus with others buried them also by night in Cyriaca's catacombs¹⁸ near the scene of their suffering, and they were ever afterwards commemorated on the Ides, or 13th, of August, as Laurence was upon the 10th and Sixtus on the 6th.

Now the passage of the old Roman Martyrology quoted by Bunsen will of course apply equally well to this Laurentian Hippolytus and to the Hippolytus of Portus. To give a clear idea how it stands I give three entries from the *calendarium Bucherianum* (the earliest known calendar, dating about A. D. 355.)

[6. Aug.] viii. Id. Aug. Syxti in Callisti [cœmeterio.]

[10. Aug.] iv. Id. Aug. Laurentii in Tiburtinâ.

[13. Aug.] Id. Aug. Hippolythi in Tiburtinâ et Pontiani in Callisti.

From the calendars next in antiquity no more than this can be gleaned. I give the entries from them in full with their dates in a note¹⁹.

With regard to Bunsen's argument (2) "from another ancient calendar," it is the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* which has this entry :

[6th Aug.] viii. Id. Aug. Romæ Xisti Episcopi...Laurenti...Eppoliti.

Now so far from implying "an earlier deposition of Hippolytus of Portus in the cœmety of Callistus," it simply appends to the name of Sixtus (on Sixtus' day) the names of those who suffered in connection with him²⁰. This is plainly the case with Laurence,

¹⁷ Laurence himself is so scourged in the frescoes of the portico of his church.

¹⁸ "Ad Nympham ad latus agri Verani." Ado.

¹⁹ *Calend. Leonianum*. (A. D. 448-526.)

viii. Id. Aug. Natale S. Sixti in Cœmet. Callisti.

iv. Id. Aug. Natale S. Laurentii.

Id. Aug. Natale SS. Hippolythi et Pontiani.

Calend. Gelasianum. (495. A. D.)

viii. Id. Aug. S. Sixti.

iv. Id. Aug. S. Laurentii.

Id. Aug. S. Hippolythi.

Calend. Gregorianum. (591. A. D.)

Non. S. Xysti Episcopi.

iv. Id. Nat. S. Laurentii.

Id. S. Hippolythi.

So too an ancient Roman Calendar in Martene *Nov. Thes.* Vol. v. col. 76.

Die x. mensis (Augusti) natalis S. Laurentii.

Die xiii. mensis—natalis S. Yppoliti.

Mabillon *Vet. Anal.* Tom. III. p. 399 gives an ancient Carthaginian Calendar with Systus, Laurence, and Hippolytus on their usual days.

²⁰ In exactly the same way, the Greek calendar joins Sixtus and Hippolytus in the commemoration of Laurence on Aug. 10.

who occurs *again* on his own day (the 10th), and so also it is with Hippolytus; he too occurs again on the 13th.

Id. Aug. Romæ SS. Ypoliti martyris. Pontiani Episcopi.

The very wording of this last entry contains a presumption that the Hippolytus there mentioned was not a Bishop. But how marvellous does it become that it should have been used to prove him not only a Bishop, but the bishop of Portus, when within a nundine we observe that the same name occurs twice again and with no doubtful accompaniment,

on 21st Aug. we read

xii. Kal. Sep. in Porto Romano natalis S. Oppoliti.

and on 23rd Aug.

x. Kal. Sep. In Portu Urbis Romæ Natalis S. Ypoliti qui dicitur Nonnus²¹ cum sociis suis. In Hostia Natalis SS. Quiriaci et Arcilai.

Now there is manifest confusion here, in the Hippolytus of Portus being mentioned on both the 21st and the 23rd; but we shall find as we proceed, that in different calendars he is commemorated on either the 21st, 22nd or 23rd, while the "Hippolytus martyr" of this calendar, the Laurentian Hippolytus of others, is by a uniform tradition commemorated on the 13th.

On Proof (3) we observe of course that the *Cal. Liberianum* proves no more than any of the above calendars, only shewing that *one* Hippolytus was proper to the Ides.

(4). It is true that in all the Sacramentaries there are prayers for the Ides relating to *one* Hippolytus, but not one word to shew that Hippolytus *of Portus* was meant: however in the Leonian Sacramentary one word seems to imply a *bloody* death, which we shall presently shew to be inapplicable to the death of the martyr of Portus²².

²¹ It is wonderful but true that St Peter Damian misled by this title has confounded Hippolytus with *Saint* Nonnus of the 5th century, and makes him convert the meretrix Pelagia; several Acts follow him, and make him furthermore convert 50,000 Saracens. They all however bring him back to martyrdom at Tiber-mouth.

²² *Sacramentarium Gregorianum.*
Oratio. ... "Beati Hippolythi Martyris tui veneranda solemnitas."
Præfatio. ... "Beati Hippolythi intercessio... qui per tormenta passionis æternam pervenit ad gloriam."
Sacram. Gelasianum. (Lib. ii.)
"Sancti Ypoliti Martyris, Domine, quæsumus, veneranda festivitàs,

Of these prayers the earliest amplification that we have occurs in the *Missale Gothicum* used in France until the times of Pepin and Charlemagne in the 7th and 8th centuries. It is in the Preface for the Mass of St Hippolytus which follows that of St Laurence.

"Qui beatum Yppolitum tyrannicis adhuc obsequiis occupatum, subito fecisti Laurenti Socium; Qui spiritali ardore succensus dum Unigenitum Filium tuum Dominum coram potestatibus veraciter confitetur, pœnis subicitur, vinculis inligatur, cardis configitur, *equorum ferocitate disjungitur*: et adepta palma martyrii vita perpetua cum lucratore et magistro Laurentio coronatur."

Once more then the liturgies which Bunsen quotes prove nothing; the earliest liturgy which tells either way tells against his view: we have then sufficiently seen the *proofs* to be very defective. I shall now bring forward some considerations which may yet tend further to invalidate the *conclusions* drawn from them.

The Great Feast of the Ides held at St Denis, as before described, was a continuation of that of the Ager Veranus. In France it never was supposed to celebrate the Doctor of Rome, but always the Laurentian convert: a presumption that it was also the latter who was celebrated at Rome on the same day. The services of the Gaulish Church too, long previous to the translation of St Hippolytus, celebrated the same martyr on that day, as we see by the Gothic Missal; an independent presumption that the collects and prefaces of the *Roman Sacramentaries* for that day were also in honour of the Laurentian.

Once more,—The Martyrology called the Old, or Small Roman, which dates A. D. 750 has

[Aug. 13] Id. Aug. Romæ Hippolyti Martyris cum familia sua, et S. Concordiæ nutricis ejus.

[Aug. 23] x. Kal. Sep. Romæ. Hippolyti, Quiriaci, Archillai²³.

Ado, Bp. of Vienne in 9th century, has in his martyrology

Id. Aug. S. Hippolytus m. sub Decio imp. Valeriano præfecto.

salutaris auxilii nobis præstet augmentum."

Post. Comm. "Intercedente beato martyre tuo Ypolito."

Sacram. Leonianum.

Præf. "Tibi enim, Domine, festiva solemnitas agitur, tibi dies sacrata

celebratur, quam S. Hippolyti martyris tui *sanguis* in veritatis tue testificatione *profusus* magnifico nominis tui honore signavit."

²³ *Martyrol. Notkeri*, A. D. 870. has only Id. Aug. Hippolyti cum sociis.

x. Kal. Sep. In Portu urbis Romæ natalis S. Hippolyti, Quiriaci, et Archillai²⁴.

Usuardus, (A. D. 875),

Id. Aug. Romæ. S. Hippolytus, jubente Valeriano præside, ligatus pedes ad colla indomitum equorum sic per cardetum et tribulos tractus emisit spiritum... Concordia cæsa plumbatis...

x. Kal. Sep. In Portu urbis Romæ SS. Ypoliti, Quiriaci, et Archillai²⁵.

The Martyrology called *Bede's* (A. D. 830) has

Id. Aug. The same words nearly as the last, and exactly the same for x. Kal. Sep.

One of the fragments of the metrical chronology of Wandelbert (A. D. 842) runs

*Idibus Hippolytum comitem Laurentius astris
Pro Christo parili recipit certamine passum.*

The Greek calendar follows a very different arrangement of feasts from the Latin, but has the distinction no less clear. On the xith of August it joins Hippolytus with Laurentius and Sixtus, and the Menæa Magna for that day glorifies him with a pun, ἱππολύτον ἱπποδέσμιον βλέπω, which is quite to our purpose. And again on the 29th January the Greek calendar has the passion of *S. Hippolytus Papa*, that is *Bishop*, with other priests and deacons, upon whom the prefect bound great stones, and τῷ βύθῳ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐνέριψε. Nothing being said of the place of martyrdom, it is worth observing that the tradition made it by the sea.

So a metrical Greek calendar has on the 30th Jan.

Ἱππολύτον πόντου τριακόστῃ ἔκτανε ρεύμα.

The Æthiopic Martyrology has the drowning of *Abulides Papa Romanus* on the 30th Jan.: so has the Coptic; and again Æthiopic Hymns for the 30th and 31st have words which are thus rendered,

"Hippolyte, pater noster, qui dignus fuisti ut appellareris doctor, mundi sacerdos." And so also the same Hieronymian

²⁴ Quiriacus and Archillaus fell at Ostia not at Portus.

²⁵ One MS. of Usuardus has, like the Hieronymian Martyrology, S. Hip-

polytus of Portus on xi. Kal. Sep. as well as on x. Kal. (It is remarkable that Baronius quotes Usuardus as fixing Hippolytus on xi. Kal. Sep.)

Martyrology, which acquaints us with the celebrations of the Bishop Hippolytus, and of the Laurentian, which took place in Portus and on the Tiburtine Road on their respective days in August, gives us also the Eastern celebrations in January :

[Jan. 29.] iiii. Cal. Feb. Epoliti Episcopi de Antiquis.

[Jan. 30.] iii. Cal. Feb. In Antiochia Passio S. Epoliti.

[Jan. 31.] ii. Cal. Feb. In Alexandria Eppoliti.

We have now before us much proof of the early and wide connection of the Hippolytus commemorated on the Ides of August in Rome (on the 10th in the East) with St Laurence; while Hippolytus the Bishop was commemorated on another day varying from the 21st to the 23rd of August in the West, and from the 29th to the 31st of January in the East²⁶.

Ancient specimens of Christian art indicate the same, at first like the calendars obscurely, but presently with distinctness.

The earliest pictured series of martyrs is in the Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, and belongs to the year 534. A long train moves towards a throned Christ, led by St Clement, St Justinus, St Laurentius, St Hippolytus; Laurence between the two saints who entombed him, and followed him to death²⁷.

The Church of St Lorenzo founded by Constantine on the Tivoli Road was re-edified by Pelagius II. in A.D. 578. Pelagius' nave became the choir of the church as again restored by Hadrian I., so that a mosaic over the chancel arch which formerly faced the people in the nave now looks towards the altar. On either side are the common subjects of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, and above, the figures of our Lord and St Peter, Pelagius himself, St Paul, St Stephen and St Laurence, and with them

²⁶ Reckoning approximately there must be at least 110 or 120 saints in the Hieronymian martyrology whose day of celebration in the East, or in Africa, is no way connected with their day in Italy. The following instances much in point appear in the very first column that I examine.

{ Jan. 2. *In Antiochia*. Possessoris...
Firmi... Acutæ... Eugendæ.
Jan. 3. *In Africa*. Possessori... Fir-
mi... Rogati... Eugenæ... Acutæ.
May 6. *Mediolani*. Acutæ... Pos-
sessini... Rogati.

{ June 2. *Romæ*. Victoriani... Adjutoris... Honorati (*alibi*)... Felicia (*etiam Lugduni*)... Vincentii (*Lugd.*) Victoræ.

{ Decem. 17. *In Africa*. Victoriani... Adjutoris... Honorati... Felicia... Vincenti... Victoræ.

²⁷ I add from Döllinger, (p. 37) that there was in the 5th century a chapel of St Hippolytus next to that of St Xistus in the Church of St Lorenzo, and that in the Canon of the Ambrosian Liturgy the three names are together. D. allows that the fragments of ancient chalices

SCS YPOLIT. He bears in his hand what is according to Nibby a cup²⁸, but according to Ciampini a martyr's crown²⁹; though it must be confessed that in Ciampini's plate it looks quite as much like a cup as a crown, while in the plate in Bunsen's Basilicas, which probably is the more accurate³⁰, it does not look much like either. The same church has a portico built by Honorius III. and adorned by him with frescoes, one of which is the meeting with Sixtus being led to death, another Laurence's Baptism of Hippolytus, three others his shrouding, his carrying forth, and his burial by Hippolytus³¹. Lastly, in the same place, over an ancient sarcophagus, adapted to the use of the mortal remains of the Cardinal Deacon Eustace, nephew of Innocent IV., there is a painting of the 13th century in which the Deacon's Patron Saints are drawn; among them, in attendance on St Laurence, is our martyr with his name S. IPOLITVS³².

But how is it possible that Prudentius should have been ignorant of such a connection of Hippolytus with Laurence? He was not ignorant of it, however much the proofs of his knowledge have been overlooked. Besides alluding to it in the Hymn of Laurence's Passion when he makes a glory like that seen by Stephen to be beheld by the recently baptized family,

Illuminatum hoc eminus
Recens piatis fratribus
Baptisma quos nuper datum
Christi capaces fecerat,

(*Peristeph.* 2. 373.)

He moreover gives us an unmistakeable indication of it in this very thrice-discussed Hymn of Hippolytus, when he tells us that the crowds after paying their devotions at that martyr's shrine repaired to the church of St Laurence, to hear the sermon.

Stat sed juxta aliud quod tanta frequentia templum
Tunc adeat, cultu nobile regifico³³.

* * * * *

which bear the effigy of Hippolytus are in honour of this same saint.

²⁸ "una specie di coppa."—Nibby. *Analisi.* Tom. II. S. Lorenzo.

²⁹ "cum quadam veluti gemmata corona."

³⁰ Plate xiii.

³¹ Mrs Jameson. *Sacred and Legendary Art.* p. 323.

³² Nibby, as above.

³³ That this is undoubtedly St Lorenzo's church, see in Bunsen, Vol. I. 215. It is strange that the consequence has been unperceived.

*Fronte sub adversa gradibus sublime tribunal
Tollitur, antistes prædicat unde Deum.*

* * * * *

*Si bene commemini, colit hunc pulcherrima Roma
Idibus Augusti mensis, ut ipsa vocat.*

But once again, the Acts of a Roman Synod of A. D. 499, in which there is a list of the churches and clergy of Rome, give none of St Hippolytus³⁴, but there was certainly an altar over the grave of that saint, where the communion was administered at least upon the Ides of August,

*Servat ad æterni spem Judicis ossa sepulchrum,
Pascit idem sanctis Tibricolas dapibus.*

We should therefore conclude that it was served by the priests of St Lorenzo, as the sermon was preached in the church of St Lorenzo. And here we have perhaps the *earliest* indication that the Martyr of the Ides and of the Field of Verus was really the friend of Laurence. For why should the priests of the latter officiate and preach in honour of the Doctor of Portus?

It may not be amiss to add a few words with respect to the manner of these martyrs' deaths. It is unlikely that *any* Hippolytus was torn by horses; certain, I conceive, that he of Portus was not³⁵.

Three Eastern martyrologies describe him as having been drowned in the sea; which at least shews that the compilers took him to have been drowned in a sea-side place. But nearer home the tradition was that he was drowned in a deep well in Portus. This, if not true, is evidently home-sprung; one of the numerous wells with which Portus, like Piræus, was furnished for the use of outward-bound vessels, would be a ready self-suggesting means of death, when the officer came hastily from Rome, tried, condemned, and executed the accused Christians and returned before evening to the city.

Accordingly, on that strip of the old Veientine territory, which was intercepted between the old Ostian mouth of Tiber

³⁴ This notice I have gained from Döllinger (p. 36) since the writing of this essay.

³⁵ Ruinart and Baillet both take this manner of death to be transferred from the bishop to the soldier (Tillemont, *Mem. Eccl.* Tom. IV. not. 4, in *Lauren-*

tium), while the Bollandists suggest the not very probable hypothesis that they both were martyred in the same way, and buried in the same place, and adored on the same day, being, to begin with, of the same name.

and the new channel of Claudius and Trajan, there was long shewn a well in which the great martyr of the place was said to have perished—and in the sixteenth century there were still pointed out beside it the remains of the memoria or chapel which had once adorned it³⁶.

The Isola Sacra, as it is called, has been for ages a fallen place; a place of wild buffaloes and rich pasture, of asphodel and orchis and rosemary. To the temples and symbols of all those gods with which its ten miles circuit was crowded, the gods of Greece, the old native gods, Silvanus and the Lares, the sailor's gods Portumnus and Calm Fortune, the gods of the rich Egyptian merchants, Holy Isis, and Zeus the Sun the Great Sarapis³⁷, and all their Companion Gods, succeeded, within three centuries of Hippolytus' death, a crowd of Christian churches, and Portus was still "the eye of Tiber." The active office of the Count of Portus³⁸ was held rather a life of luxury than of labour, so glorious was the host of ships, and the magnificence of the imperial stores, and the tide of wealth that poured hourly in, and rode gaily up to Rome. The old Ostia was desolate, and her pathways overgrown with brushwood, while a fine straight street ran with a continuous pavement from the city down to Portus, along which the whole commerce of the city moved. The Bishop of Portus, as in the days of Hippolytus himself, was second to none³⁹ in the councils of the see of Rome; his blood had hallowed the great mart, and in the high ceremony of the Inauguration of the Pope, the second prayer was always offered by his successor⁴⁰.

³⁶ Baronius, *Annales*, A.D. 229, num. 6.

³⁷ Silvanus, Lares, Isis. Nibby. *Anal.* II. p. 614. Portumnus and Fortuna Tranquilla, p. 649. Zeus Helios Sarapis and *σάρρασι θεοί*. Inscription of Heron in Spohn quoted by Bunsen.

³⁸ The Comitiva.—Cassiodor. *Variar.* Lib. VII. ep. 9. ap. Nibby.

³⁹ *Philosoph.* pp. 289, 290.

⁴⁰ I cannot forbear to add the following most curious passage from Baronius which, while it illustrates the estimation of the See of Portus in his time, is amusing as a literary conjecture, now

that we know the truth. He assents to the notion that Hippolytus once had held a see in Arabia, which he quitted for Rome under Callistus, who made him Bishop of Portus, "eo nimirum consilio ne tantum episcopum, sede alia obligatum, in Arabiam redeundi cura prioris commissi sibi gregis impelleret: quem ut adhaerentem lateri semper haberet, et in ambiguis consultorem, creavit episcopum Portuensem, sedem illi tribuens modicæ quidem curæ sed amplissimæ dignitatis, cujus episcopi assistere solent Pontifici Romano."

Constantine had dedicated the whole island to St Peter and St Paul, but there had been all along a great church to the memory of Hippolytus. The eighth century was the last bright day of Portus; for two centuries before it had been only fading from history and crumbling in its place. The uncertain chronology of a few bishops is the only relic of those times, so much it suffered from the misrule of the Byzantine court after its reconquest, and from the Saracen incursions. No vessels could enter its blocked-up harbour, and it fell to be a little guard-post against the marauders, and a convenient landing-place for them. But the eighth century rebuilt the church of St Hippolytus, and added the Great Tower that still is the chief feature in the view. The ninth replenished its streets with a population from Corsica; and somewhat earlier than this, Leo III. made many offerings to the Church, among them two precious palls, one for the high altar, and one to cover the body of St Hippolytus⁴¹. This is proof enough that after the relics of the Ager Veranus had been removed to France those of the Bp. of Portus were still believed to rest at Portus: whence indeed it is most unlikely that a loving flock in the early martyr-honouring ages should ever have removed them to Rome⁴².

⁴¹ Anastas. *Biblioth.* in *Vit. Leon.* III. 385 (Vol. I. p. 288). "Fecit autem isdem almficus Pontifex in beati Hippolyti martyris in civitate Portuensi vestes *de stauraci* duas, unam super corpus ejus et aliam in altari majori." Döllinger who, I observe, cites this passage, mistranslates *de stauraci* "mit Kreuzen durchwirkte:"—it describes the *quince colour*.

⁴² It may be interesting to subjoin a few memoranda from Nibby of the subsequent history of Portus. In the 11th century the church was still standing and flourishing: the diocese was then accurately defined and contained several churches. It was regarded as so strong and important a place that along with Ostia, St Angelo, and St Peter's it was reserved for the Pope's especial jurisdiction. So far then Bunsen is not quite accurate when he says (p. 229),

"In the 11th century Ostia and Portus were miserable places, and had been so for centuries." In the 15th century the church was a ruin. Pius II. in 1461 made a visitation of the town and island. The ancient store-vaults, the dock-yards, the mooring-pillars were still to be seen round a large muddy pool which was the only vestige of the harbour. All round lay "gentilium templorum vestigia, et Christianorum ecclesiarum cadavera." In the Island they could not turn a sod without finding marbles, statues, and large columns. But the only building yet erect was the Tower of St Hippolytus. "Ecclesia jacet detecta; parietes tantum extant, et turris campanaria, sine campanis, non ignobilis. In Insula nullum aliud eminet ædificium."

Twenty years later (1483) Sixtus IV. walked down from Ostia with some Patres to the beach "*Sumto prandio*,"

And now there has been laid before the reader evidence in favour we do not say of the fact, but of a tradition, unvarying so far as it reaches, that Hippolytus Bp. of Portus was drowned at Portus, and there buried, and that his day was commonly kept on 21st—23rd August. For the account which late critics unhesitatingly receive, that he rested in the Ager Veranus, and that the Ides of August was his commemoration-day, there is no evidence save the most confused hymn of Prudentius, and even that betrays itself. But what of the statue? *That* was found in the Ager Veranus. —A highly curious fact—but if as M. Bunsen allows to be more than possible, it belongs to the 6th century, then its evidence will not countervail all the rest. But the statue may be of the 4th century, and in that case what does its evidence amount to? Did it belong to the church of St Hippolytus? There is no proof that it did. But suppose it were so. Does it follow that the saint whom it represents was the saint whose *relics* were there entombed? Is it a strange thing that there should be images of more than one saint in a church? Above all, images of saints of the same name? Is it not a well-known mode of grouping early saints? The Three Marys, the Two St Johns will occur to every reader. Is it unlikely that in the church of the Laurentian Hippolytus there should be commemorations of the two Roman martyrs of that name? Is it not above all things possible that a visitor seeing two images, or a painting of the martyrdom of one, an image of the other, and hearing the two legends, should have moulded them in his own mind into one. Here it seems to me that we have an intelligible ground for such a confusion on the part of so learned a man; elsewhere I know of none.

If this be so, we must suppose that the Roman Church in her veneration for her great martyr Laurence, appointed to him and to his master and forerunner to the grave, Sixtus, and to Hippolytus, the fruit of his blood, festival days, which whether truly fixed or not, represented their connection with each other, and their deaths within a few days of each other: and that as her calendar and range of feasts enlarged, she gave to the mar-

and looked across at the “muri vetustissimi Portus et pene collisi.” He *thought* of restoring it.

In 1583 Card. Corneus restored the

palace and adjoining church.

In 1612 the navigation was reopened, and in 1825 the present village of Fiumicino built.

tyrs of neighbouring sees and cities their days also, and then it was that he of Portus received his due honour. The 21st or 23rd of August, the day when he had been always commemorated on the scene of his martyrdom and sepulture, was enrolled in the calendar of the city of Rome in about the 6th century, as the calendars evince; the very century when, in all likelihood (though there may have been some earlier monument) *this* statue was set up at Rome.

On the other hand, if the addition of a graphic touch to a picture of the Bp. of Portus be so desirable that we must at any price believe him to have been buried in the Ager Veranus, on the Ides of August, and there, and on that day, venerated in the early centuries by such crowds of Christian people; then we must suppose that at some undiscoverable period, for no perceptible purpose, and without all warrant, the entry of his name in the calendars became connected with the story of St Laurence, and his church and festival made over to a namesake of far less renown, while the rejected Bishop and Father was provided with another feast an eight days afterwards, and an obscurer shrine in Portus.

This is indeed to the last degree improbable. At any rate we have seen, that Baronius was certainly *not* the author of such a change; that the commemorations stood as they now stand a thousand years before his time. We have been unable to find any record of such a change, or any proof "that the church of Rome has made three Hippolytuses out of one"⁴³.

⁴³ Bunsen (Vol. IV. p. 121) would prove this by a simple juxtaposition of Prudentius' Hymn with the *modern* Roman Martyrology: which would of course only shew that *either* the latter had made three of one, or the former one of three. Neither of these hypotheses are tenable, for the mistake about the Antiochian Hippolytus is at least as old as the ninth century. And for the rest I hope to have shewn some reason to believe that Prudentius did make one poetical saint by a combination of the poetical points that belonged to two.

The quotation from the Martyrology,

which Bunsen makes for Aug. 22, begins "In Portu Romano S. Hippolyti Episcopi," which, followed by "apud eundem locum sepultus," looks very like the Tiburtine way. The quotation professes to be taken from the Martyrology "edited by Gregory XIII. and revised by order of Urban VIII." But in the original edition of 1589 the words are "In Portu Romano"; so they are in that of 1701, the revision of Clement X., and in that of 1613 (Antwerp), the revision of Sixtus V.

The one referred to I have not seen, but if the words are quoted correctly they are a notable misprint.

This she has not done: perhaps as a colophon to our investigation it may be instructive to observe what she has done.

We have seen that the Laurentian Hippolytus is believed to rest at St Denis, as the other was, as late as the 9th century, at Portus. One is at Cologne, and he too, according to Gelenius, is the Laurentian. The heads of both are at Lucca, and one drop of blood also. There are in divers places pieces of their arms. But when Cardinal Alexander Farnese (Paul III.) restored the church of St Lorenzo, Angelicus Bononiensis, a canon, made many essays to behold the bodies of St Hippolytus and his fellow-martyrs. He discovered that they lay below that potent altar for souls in pain which you pass in going from the church to the cœmety of Cyriaca. An invisible power withheld him again and again as he descended by a ladder towards the vault: at last by prayer, by watching, and by fasting he overcame; and he beheld the holy anatomies laid upon the ground, and a stone under every head. But last of all, in the year 1600 Clement the Eighth enriched the Church of St Julia at Brescia with the entire body of St Hippolytus, and that of St Concordia to boot; we may add that he furthermore bestowed there St Julia herself, with the bones of her sisters Faith, Hope and Charity, and also of Wisdom, which is the mother of them all.

Since the above pages were written I have received Dr Döllinger's interesting work. His view is, as many of my readers are aware, that Hippolytus was a schismatical though orthodox bishop at Rome, not Bishop of Portus. On this particular subject I hope to be able hereafter to offer a few observations to the contrary, but I have *assumed* above that he was Bishop of Portus, as was natural before the appearance of Dr D.'s work. He has a chapter on the different saints who bore the name of Hippolytus, and I have in two or three places inserted notes from his work on points of which I was previously ignorant. His remarks on the Antiochian presbyter are most critical and to me conclusive. But there are two other lines of investigation which I had examined and abandoned, persuaded that no real result was obtainable from them. Dr Döllinger has however found them convenient for his particular purpose, and therefore it will be well

briefly to state them, and to shew the worthlessness (as it appears to me) of the one and the unsatisfactoriness, to say the least, of the other.

(1) *The Acts of St Aurea*. Those we possess in several shapes.

The earliest has it, that that royal virgin was martyred at *Ostia*, in the persecution of Gallus A.D. 252. Seventeen converted soldiers were martyred at the same time, two of whom, *Taurinus* and *Herkulanus*, were buried at *Portus*.

The next, that the martyrdoms took place at *Ostia*, but under *Claudius*, and that Aurea was buried by one *Nonnus* called also *Hippolytus*, who was himself drowned afterwards in the same place.

The third, that the martyrdom was under *Alexander Severus*, and that the entomber was *Hippolytus Bishop of Portus*.

Now the *Depositio Martyrum* of A. D. 354 has for Sep. 5 the entry,

Aconti, in Porto, et Nonni et Herculani et Taurini.

Now surely the natural inference from all this is that into the first version of St Aurea's Legend these three real persons, Nonnus or Nonus, Herculanus and Taurinus were worked in: that the next modeller of the story, either knew, or asserted without knowing, that the Latin Nonus had (as was not uncommon) a Greek Christian name Hippolytus: or else he knew that *Nonnus* was a title given to Religious Persons, and conjecturing that *this Nonnus* might be the *Father* of Portus⁴⁴, was anxious to connect the story with so great a saint. Lastly, some writer finding the story in this shape, boldly glorifies his heroine by making indignation at her death the cause of Hippolytus's martyrdom, and he accordingly transfers the whole scene to the time of Alexander Severus, and brings Hippolytus in as *Bishop of Portus*.

Döllinger strangely infers (in his zeal to prove that *our Hippolytus* had no connection with Portus) that the Hippolytus whose relics were kept in that place was the *Nonus* of the first Acts of Aurea: of whom we may safely say that there is no proof

⁴⁴ That Hippolytus the Bishop was really sometimes known by this title is seen by the Hieronymian Martyrology which while it records the martyrdom of the above Nonnus on 25 July,

(In Portu Urbis Romæ nat. S. Aconti,

Nonni, Jacobi &c.) and of Taurinus and Herculanus on Sep. 5, has on Aug. 23 (Bp. Hippolytus' day)

In Portu Urbis Romæ Hippolytus qui dicitur Nonnus.

whatever that his name was Hippolytus. That Hippolytus appears at all in the later form of the legend is due solely to the notoriety of the fact that he was Bishop of Portus, and to the desire to connect so eminent a saint with St Aurea's name.

(2) *The connection of the name of Hippolytus with that of Pontianus*, Bp. of Rome, next but one in succession to Callistus.

The *Depositio* of A. D. 354, the *Liber Pontificalis*, the Hieronymian Martyrology⁴⁵, and Leonian Sacramentary, mention the 13th of August as the Natale of Pontianus in the cœmety of Callistus, as well as that of Hippolytus on the Tivoli Road. The first of these also informs us that Pontianus Episcopus and Yppolitus Presbyter were transported to Sardinia, the Insula Nociva, in A. D. 235, and that the former was "In eadem insula discinctus" stripped of his dignity, on "iiii. Kl. Oct. et loco ejus ordinatus est Antheros xi. Kl. Dec. cons. ss." From this passage Döllinger and Bunsen have alike inferred that the Hippolytus commemorated in one part of Rome on the same day as Pontianus on another, is the same Hippolytus as was banished with him to Sardinia: that therefore the Hippolytus of the Ides of August was not the Laurentian, but a presbyter so called. But there is no proof of it except Dr D.'s "Ich zweifle nicht." If it were so they must have fallen together, and probably in Sardinia, and their bones have been brought to Rome together, and strangest of all, after such long companionship in life and death, they must have been laid in their shrines on the self-same day on opposite sides of the city, and finally the great Doctor must have been robbed of his shrine and of his feast-day to make room for a saint of far less note than himself. Such a string of assumptions can never hold.

The proofs which we have that Hippolytus fell at Portus make it nearly certain that like Callistus, his great antagonist, he did *not* find a grave in the Baleful Isle, but in his own city, and there was commemorated on Aug. 23: and that Pontianus, whenever he fell, was laid by a simple coincidence, unnoticed at the time, in the cœmety of his predecessor Callistus on the same day that was observed in memory of Laurence's Warder and Convert, Aug. 13.

⁴⁵ Döllinger (p. 33) quotes as if they were distinct authorities the Hieronymian catalogue in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, Vol. IV. and the *Vetus Eccle-*

sia occidentalis Martyrologium of Florentini; whereas the former is only a less perfect copy of the latter.

It is amusing to see in contrast to the above coincidence, rejected merely because it is a coincidence, what a coincidence Dr Döllinger can not only admit but invent, when he conjectures pp. 39, 40, and again p. 68, that the account of the Horse-Martyrdom was derived from the discovery of an ancient sculpture of the death of the son of Theseus on the very spot where his presbyter Hippolytus was interred. This will not do; but a less violent conjecture might be hazarded, that as originally the manner of the death of Laurence's Friend may have been unknown, the early Christian painting was a pictorial mode of writing above the shrine HIPPOLYTUS MARTYR.

Mar. 24, 1854.

E. W. BENSON.

III.

On some special Difficulties in Pindar.

AMONG the many services which a Classical Journal is calculated to perform, not the least important is to be recognised in the opportunity which it supplies for the full discussion of difficult and doubtful passages in the ancient writers. The commentator and editor is obliged to content himself with a brief statement of his own views, and with a general reference to the labours of his predecessors. And this is sufficient in the great majority of cases. But passages are found here and there, in which an emendation or interpretation cannot be proposed without a full discussion *pro* and *con*; and the scholar, who undertakes the interpretation of an author, is always glad to find such work done to his hand by others, or previously accomplished by himself. Whether, therefore, I shall be called upon shortly to renew my labours as an editor of Pindar, or whether I am to enjoy a longer respite from that toil, I shall be glad to submit to the learned world my views upon a few passages, which have occupied my attention since the first beginning of my acquaintance with this author.

I.

In *Pyth.* II. 76, 77 (140, 141), the established reading is as follows :

ἄμαχον κακὸν ἀμφοτέροισ διαβολῶν ὑποφαΐτιες,
ὄργαῖς ἀτενὲς ἀλωπέκων ἔκελοι.

In my commentary on the passage, I have called attention to the fact, that in *Æschyl. Agam.* 71, we have the combination ὄργαῖς ἀτενὲς, and that Hesiod uses ἀτενὲς as an epithet to νόος in the passage :

ἀτενὲί τε νόος καὶ ἐπίφρονι βουλῇ, (*Theog.* 661).

Every scholar must feel a suspicion that in Pindar's original text, ἀτενὲς was not an adverb separated by a genitive dependent on ὄργαῖς from ἔκελοι, to which it belongs, and thus creating a sort of double hyperbaton; but in some shape an epithet of the noun which it follows; and as it is highly probable that the passage was known to *Æschylus*, who wrote the *Oresteia* some twenty years after the publication of this ode, and immediately after a visit to Sicily, we must take the passage in the *Agamemnon* as a confirmation of the impression, which we derive from the order of the words. The question really is, whether the text requires and admits such an alteration as would bring the usage of ἀτενὲς in the passage before us, into proper harmony with the passage of *Æschylus*, which may have been built upon it, and a still more coincident passage of Hesiod, which must have been known to Pindar. A sort of instinct seems to have guided all the interpreters, ancient as well as modern, to a rendering of the passage which is not borne out by the words as they stand. It is felt that the masculine ἔκελοι, no less than the force of the passage, requires a designation of person, instead of an abstract feminine noun like ὑποφαΐτιες, which, to save the metre, is changed by Böckh into ὑποφαΐτιες; and we must read either ὑποφαΐτιες from ὑποφηγεύς, which is Hermann's suggestion, or ὑποφάτορες, which is Bothe's conjecture. Then again it is felt that these "whisperers of calumnies," must in all propriety be compared not "to the ways of foxes," but "to foxes, in their ways or manners." Thus the Breslau Scholiast, published by C. E. C. Schneider in 1844, (*Apparatus Pindarici Supplementum*) says, (p. 14) : τὸ δὲ ὑποφαΐτιες ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑποβολεῖς διαβολῶν, which seems to recognise a masculine noun in -εύς; and again, τὸ δὲ ἀλωπέκων ἔκελοι, ἀντὶ τοῦ παμμήχανοι καὶ

πανούργοι καθάπερ ἀλώπηξ, which makes the genitive dependent on ἱκελοι and not on ὀργαῖς. In accordance with this, Mommsen in his translation of Pindar (*Des Pindaros Werke in die Versmaasse des Originals uebersetzt*, Leips. 1846), renders the passage as follows: "Dem Beklatschten und Hörer zugleich ist blinzelnder Laurer ein tödtlich Leid, gradsweges in seinen Tücken gleichend dem Fuchs." But although there can be no doubt that this is the meaning of the poet, it is equally clear that this meaning is not conveyed by the words as they stand. For there is no instance of the use of ἱκελος or εἶκελος with the genitive of the person or thing which furnishes the object of comparison; and the special feature in the comparison is always expressed in the accusative, when it is added to the general object of the comparison, which always appears in the dative. Such a passage as Hom. *Od.* φ. 411: χελιδόνι εἰκέλη αὐδήν, may be taken as exemplifying the usual and idiomatic construction of the adjective.

Now no reader of Pindar can be ignorant of the fact that the poet was familiar with the writings of Hesiod, his great countryman. When, therefore, Hesiod had written (*Op. et D.* 304): κηφήνεσσι κοβούροις εἶκελος ὀργήν, it seems to me impossible that Pindar should not have written ὀργήν ἀλωπέκεσσιν ἱκελοι, if he meant to say that the calumniators in question were like foxes in their character or disposition. As the ε of the dative plural may be elided in Pindar after a double σ, (*Hermann. Opusc.* i. 250,) we may have ἀλωπέκεσσ' ἱκελοι here; just as we have κέρδεσσ' ὀπιθόμβροτον in *Pyth.* i. 92. And the contracted form ἀτενῇ would be as allowable as ἀλαθῇ in *Olymp.* i. 28. Those, who are acquainted with palæography, need not be told, that the changes of the final syllables -αις, -εις, -ων, into ην, η, εσσ, are as slight as possible, and any one may see that they all belong to the same class; namely, that the change of ἀλωπέκων into ἀλωπέκεσσ- is, *vice versa*, a result of the same confusion as that which substituted ὀργαῖς for ὀργήν. But even if the diplomatic probability of the corruption were much less than it is, I would rather adopt the supposition that the text is faulty, than come to some conclusions, which seem to me quite inadmissible; namely, that Æschylus wrote ὀργὰς ἀτενείς, when he found ὀργαῖς ἀτενείς in this passage; and that Pindar did not know his own language, and wrote ὀργαῖς ἀλωπέκων ἱκελοι, when he meant ὀργήν ἀλωπέκεσσιν ἱκελοι, and that too when a poet of his own country, with whose writings he is known to have been familiar,

had written ὀργὴν εἶκελος κηφήνεσσιν. The use of ἀτενὲς as an adverb, which is acknowledged by the grammarians (Suidas, s. v. *Anecd. Bekker*, p. 458), and confirmed by some few passages from the later writers, seems to me to be a secondary idiom. As an adjective ἀτενής denotes "firm" and "tenacious," and is applied to the ivy clinging to a tree, to a firm character, to the inexorable will of God, to the stubborn and obstinate temper of a perverse man. In the second of these applications it is used by Æschylus in the passage referred to: and Maximus Tyrius furnishes a comment on this use of the word, ἀστρεπτον τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἀτενὲς καὶ ἀπαραίτητον, (*Diss.* ix. p. 117). In the last or unfavourable sense of the word it is used by Pindar here, and in the same way Plutarch (*Cato*, c. 5) speaks, ἀτενοῦς ἄγαν ἥθους ἐγὼ τίθεμαι κ. τ. λ. This is in accordance also with the second part of the definition of Timæus, ὁ σκληρὸς καὶ ἀνύπεικτος πρὸς ὃ χρηὶ υπεῖξαι. So convinced am I that ἀτενὲς in the passage before us refers to ὀργὴν and not merely to ἔκελοι, that, if I were not able to sustain the emendations which I have proposed by the authority of Hesiod, and if I were obliged to retain some feminine noun, either the ὑποφαύτιες of Böckh, or the ὑποφάντιες of Bergk, as the subject of the sentence, I would still read ὀργὴν ἀτενὲς, ἀλωπέκεσσ' ἔκελον, making ἀτενὲς and ἔκελον neuter predicates in apposition with ἄμαχον κακόν. But the argument is, in my judgment, conclusive in favour of the other changes; and, adopting the orthographic alteration of διαβολιᾶν into διαβολιᾶν as proposed by Bergk, on the authority of Theognis, 324, πειθόμενος χαλεπῇ, Κύρνε, διαιβολίῃ, I would with the utmost confidence read and translate the two lines as follows:

ἄμαχον κακὸν ἀμφοτέροις διαιβολιᾶν ὑποφατέες,
ὀργὴν ἀτενὴ ἀλωπέκεσσ' ἔκελοι,

"An unconquerable evil to both parties are the sneaking whisperers of calumnies, in their intractable temper like unto foxes."

II.

The second strophe of the fifth Pythian Ode, vv. 30—39 (41—55), has given a great deal of trouble to the German editors, but no one of them, as it appears to me, has discovered the seat of the corruption, or produced the true remedy. The context necessary for the full development of the meaning stands as follows in the text of Böckh and Dissen:

Epode I. v. 4.

φιλει δὲ Κάρρωντον ἔξοχ' ἑταίρων,
 δεσ οὐ τὰν Ἐπιμαθίους ἄγων
 ὀψινόου θυγατέρα πρόφασιν Βαττιδᾶν
 ἀφίκετο δόμους θεμισκρεόντων
 ἀλλ' ἀρισθάρματον
 ὕδατι Κασταλίας ξενώβεις γέρας ἀμφέβαλε τεαῖσιν κόμαις

Strophe II.

ἀκηράτοις ἀνίαις
 ποδαρκέων δαΐδεκ' ἂν δρόμων τίμενος.
 κατέκλασε γὰρ ἐντέων σθένος οὐδέν' ἀλλὰ κρέμαται,
 ὅποσα χεριαρᾶν
 τεκτόνων δαΐδαλ' ἄγων
 Κρισαῖον λόφον
 ἄμειψεν ἐν κοιλόπεδον νάπος
 θεοῦ· τό σφ' ἔχει κυπαρίσσινον
 μέλαθρον ἀμφ' ἀνδριάντι σχεδόν,
 Κρήτες δὲ τοξοφόροι τέγει Παρνασίῳ κάθυσσαν τὸν μονόδροπον, φυτον.

This text is indebted to Thiersch and Böckh for the insertion of *ἂν* in the 2nd line of the strophe, to Hermann for the change of *δαΐδαλματα*, which spoils the metre of l. 5, into *δαΐδαλα*, and to Böckh for *κάθυσσαν τὸν* instead of *καθέσσαντο* in the last line. The recent editions have also substituted *τό σφ'*, the reading of most of the MSS., for the Aldine *τόσ'*, which the *Editio Brubachiana* writes *τόσσ'*: and Hermann has proposed to read *τεκτόνια* for *τεκτόνων* in l. 5, and *ἂν* for *ἐν* in l. 7. Beyond this, no attempt has been made to reform the text of the passage, in which the commentators seem to acquiesce. To me, however, it appears that these words cannot have proceeded from Pindar, and that they require not only a restoration of the common reading *τόσσ'*, but also a more important alteration of the word *κρέμαται*. The general meaning of the passage is clear. Carrhotus deserved the highest praise for his careful driving, rendered more conspicuous by the fact, that forty chariots were upset in the race. He did not, like his unlucky competitors, go back to Cyrene with pretexts and excuses, the children of after-thoughts, but crowned his master with the prize of victory, because he escaped all damage in the chariot-race. "The fact is," says the poet, "that he broke none of the strong equipage, but"—if we are to follow Böckh's text—"all his chariot and harness, which he brought with him to the Crisean dell, are suspended; wherefore the chamber of cypress-

wood has them, &c." To this method of dealing with the passage before us I have many objections. In the first place, it does not seem very natural that the active *κατέκλανε*, predicated of the charioteer, should be so directly opposed to the passive *κρέμαται*, predicated of the chariot. Then, there is no statement of the place where the chariot was hung up, until we get into a totally different sentence, beginning with *τό σφαι*. Then again, I do not think that, as the *τεκτόνια δαίδαλα* clearly refer to the *ἄλσος* of the antistrophe, suspension in the temple would be the proper or usual mode of dealing with such an offering. Lastly, I do not agree with Böckh that, "*ὅποσα dictum est ad omisum et cogitatione supplendum πάντα*;" or with Dissen, that the emphatic *τόσσα* "nescio quomodo ineptum est et non Pindaricum." On the contrary, it appears to me, that as the relative clause, which precedes, contains a description or statement of the objects consecrated, the antecedent ought to be expressed in the following or correlative clause, which tells us in what part of the temple at Delphi the chariot was deposited. If the verb *κρέμαται* had not made its appearance in the text, no one I conceive would have objected for a moment to the construction *ὅποσα ἄγων ἄμειψεν, τόσσ' ἔχει μέλαθρον*. For these reasons, I think that the old reading *τόσσ'* is better than the *τό σφ'*, which has been reimported from the MSS., and that the genuine text is to be sought in some restitution which will make Carrhotus the subject of all the verbs, and preserve the unbroken tenor of the passage. The primary corruption is the verb *κρέμαται*, which is inappropriate in itself, and wants a local predicate to help out its meaning. If we would discover the diplomatic or palæographic origin of this corruption, we must apply a principle of great importance in verbal criticism, especially in the case of ancient vitiations of the text. This principle, which I have applied to the correction of one of the most extensive corruptions in the text of Sophocles (*Antig.* 607, p. 186), is thus defined: resemblances between the terminations of successive lines produce interpolations or absorptions of syllables. Thus we have here

— τ[εμ]ενος
— κρ[εμ]αται
— χερμαραν
αγων.

As the terminations *-αι* and *-ων* are often confused, I see in this

sequence an explanation of the change from *κρατέων*, which I believe was the original word at the end of l. 32, into *κρέμαται*; the *-εμ-* having slipped down from *τ-εμ-ενος*, and the *-ατεων* having passed from its contact with *αγων* and *αραν* into *αται*.

I am led to the conclusion that *κρατέων* is the true reading by the simple fact that it is the very word which Pindar would be most likely to use in this collocation. Compare the words: *ἀρρ-σθάρματον γέρας ἀμφέβαλε τεαῖσιν κόμῃς—κρατέων*, with *Pyth.* II. 4—6: *τετραορίας, εὐάρματος ἱέρων ἐν ᾧ κρατέων τηλαυγέσιν ἀνέδησεν Ὀρτυγίαν στεφάνοις*. Surely no one will fail to see a perfect similarity of phrase in these two passages; and if there were no trace of *κρατέων* in the words under consideration, I should miss the word on its own account. But with this participle inserted, it becomes necessary that Carrhotus, to whom it refers, should be the nominative to the verb in the antecedent clause. And independently of any grammatical necessity, it is more natural that the poet should tell us what Carrhotus did with his equipage, than that a new nominative *μέλαθρον* should be introduced to tell us where the vehicle was to be found. I think therefore that we must substitute for *ἔχει* in l. 37, Pindar's favourite word *ἄγει*, which occurs twice before in this passage (ll. 25, 34), and which may be followed by an accusative of motion without a preposition according to Pindar's practice (see l. 27). This change is not unconnected with the old corruption of *τοσφ'* for *τοσσ'* in this place. For it is possible that the reading of the MSS. has originated in some marginal gloss of *ἐσφέρει* or *προσφέρει* to explain the *ἄγει* with an accusative following. Some critics might prefer to substitute *προσφέρει* in the text for *τοσφεχει*, on the authority of *Olymp.* IX. 108: *τοῦτο δὲ προσφέρων δῶλον*: but I am convinced that *ἄγει* is the true reading, and I would also substitute *ἄγων* for *ἀγών* in *Pyth.* X. 15:

*ἔθηκε καὶ βαθυλείμων' ὑπὸ Κίρρας ἄγων
πέτρων κρατησίποδα Φρικίαν,*

where the mention of wealth immediately afterwards strengthens my belief that Phricias was a horse (cf. *Isthm.* III. 17). With these two emendations, I think it will be admitted that every difficulty vanishes from the passage before us, which may then be translated as follows: "for he broke none of the strong equipage" (for *ἔντεα* see *Nem.* IX. 22; Böckh says: '*ἐντέων* non de frænis sed de ipso curru est'); "but gaining the victory, whatever orna-

mented workmanship of the handicraftsmen bringing to the Crisæan hill he passed to the hollow dell of the God, just so much (i.e. without any diminution) brings he to the cypress hall hard by the image, which the Cretan bowmen placed in the Parnassian temple, that image which grew in one piece, and was so taken up from the stem." The internal coherence of a passage is after all the best evidence of its genuineness, and the experienced critic can judge for himself whether the established reading agrees with the context or requires some alteration, diplomatically feasible, in order to carry out the manifest intention of the writer. I do not believe that Pindar wrote the passage before us as it has been hitherto edited. I do believe that the changes which I have suggested are both in accordance with the meaning, which he designed to convey, and with the usages and requirements of the Greek language. It is a question of minor importance whether we ought to construe *ἄγων* with *ἐς νῆπος*, and *ἀμειψεν* with *λόφον*, as Böckh does; or, as I have done, *vice versa*. The latter construction is suggested by the order of the words, and supported by the facts of the case. Carrhotus landed at Cirrha, went up the stream of the Pleistus to the Crisæan hill, and then passed on to the hippodrome in the valley at the foot of Mount Parnassus. The verb *ἀμείβω* signifies both "to quit a place" and "to go to a place;" and here it bears a meaning from which these two applications have diverged, namely, to pass from one place to another.

III.

Almost every commentator has proposed a distinct emendation of *Nem.* vi. 51, 2, (84, 85), which stands thus in the old text:

βαρὺ δέ σφι νεῖκος ἔμπεος'
Ἀχιλλεύς χαμαὶ καθβαῖς ἀφ' ἀρμάτων.

Hermann (*Opusc.* i. p. 261,) proposed:

βαρὺ δέ σφι νεῖκος ἔμπεος
καθβάς Ἀχιλλεύς χαμαὶ ὦν ἀφ' ἀρμάτων.

Böckh at first read:

βαρὺ δέ σφι νεῖκος ἔμπαξ'
Ἀχιλλεύς χαμάδις καταβάς ἀφ' ἀρμάτων.

He afterwards accepted Dissen's conjecture:

βαρὺ δέ σφι δείξε νεῖκος
χαμαὶ καταβάς Ἀχιλλεύς ἀφ' ἀρμάτων.

Boissonade's text is: ἔμπεσ' Ἀχιλλεύς χαμαὶ καβὰς. Bergk adopts Dissen's emendations. And Rauchenstein (*Zeitschrift f. d. Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1844, no. 51. p. 407) gives us the following arrangement of the text:

βαρὺ δέ σφι θῆκε νεῖκος
καββὰς χαμαὶ ἄρ' Ἀχιλλεύς ἀφ' ἀρμάτων.

Or: καββὰς χαμάδις ῥ' Ἀχιλεύς.

As no one of these proposals has been generally received, it is not surprising that I cannot acquiesce altogether in any of them, or that I think the true reading still undiscovered. It appears to me that it still lurks in the traces of the old text, which is, -σφι νεῖκος ἔμπεσ' Ἀχιλλεύς χαμαὶ καββὰς, καββὰς, or in one MS. καμβὰς. The first step is to consider the meaning of the context. The scholiast, from whose *βαρεῖαν καὶ ἐπαχθῇ μάχην διὰ φιλονεικίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπέδειξεν* Dissen has borrowed his *δείξε νεῖκος*, obviously did not understand the passage. Pindar says that the fame of the Æacidæ had spread afar by land and sea, and had leapt at one bound even to the Æthiopians. Then follows our text, which ought surely to signify that Achilles, by slaying Memnon, had caused them, far removed as they were, heavy sorrow or pain. There is nothing in the context or in the mythology of the Æacidæ to justify the term *νεῖκος* here. Pindar must have written *βαρὺ πένθος* (as in *Ol.* II. 25), or, what would be the same thing in his style, *βαρὺ ἔλκος* (see *Pyth.* II. 91). The name Ἀχιλλεύς written with two λ's, which is the less common orthography in Pindar, and transferred from its proper place before ἀφ' ἀρμάτων, to the end of the previous line, contains the last traces of ἔλκος, which ought to be restored to the text without its gloss ἄχος*; and I am the more convinced of this because the preceding word ἔμπεσ' seems to me to have sprung from καμβὰς, a faulty reading for καβὰς, which must have preceded Ἀχιλλεύς in some copies. If then we remove ἔμπεσ' Ἀχιλλεύς from the end of the line and leave them to be represented by καβὰς, or, as in the Augustinus codex, by καμβὰς Ἀχιλεύς, and retain only ἔλκος from Ἀχ-ιλλεύς, we shall find the necessary verb *ἐνεικεν* in the substantive νεῖκος, and changing *δεσφινεικος* into *δ' ἔς σφ' ἐνεικεν*, we shall have a reading required by the context, and not very far removed from the traces of the MSS. If however we take the

* Ἀχ-ιλλεύς=ἄχος-ἐλκος.

form *καβάς*, on the analogy of *κάπερον* (*Olymp.* viii. 38), instead of the common *καταβάς*,—and the MSS. lead us to this—we shall require another short syllable in the second line. This will be supplied to us by a line which Pindar may have had in his recollection when he wrote the passage, *Iliad*, iv. 419:

ἦ ῥα καὶ ἐξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄλτο χαμᾶζε.

These changes, slight in themselves, but important in their effects, seem to meet every requirement of the sense and metre. The corruption of *ἔνικεν* into *νείκος* would be assisted by the resemblance of the latter to the *ἔλκος* which immediately followed, and the phrase *βαρὺ ἔνικεν ἔλκος* would be justified by the use of *φέρω* in *Isthm.* i. 63: *ἦ μὲν πολλάκι καὶ τὶ σεσωπαμένον εὐθυμίαν μείζω φέρει*, “causes or conveys greater gladness.” The context of the passage before us will run thus:

πέταται δ' ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης τηλόθεν
 ὄνομ' αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐς Αἰθίοπας
 Μέμνονος οὐκ ἀποροστάσαντος ἐπᾶλτο· βαρὺ δ' ἔς σφ' ἔνικεν ἔλκος
 χαμᾶζε καβάς Ἀχιλεὺς ἀφ' ἄρμάτων,
 φασγάνῳ νίδν' εὐτ' ἐνέριξεν Ἄδως ἀκμῇ
 ἔγχεος ζακτόιο.

“Far flies over land and across the sea their name: even to the Æthiopians with one bound it leaped when Memnon returned not: and to them Achilles, jumping down from his chariot, when he slew with the point of his wrathful spear the bright Aurora's son, caused (lit. carried) a heavy pang.”

IV.

Among the proofs that even professed scholars have still something to learn in Greek may be mentioned the astounding fact that there are even nowadays persons, who believe that *καὶ περ* may be construed with a finite verb. All English scholars, who have passed through the discipline of our University Examinations, will, I am sure, adopt the statement in my *Greek Grammar*, art. 621. p. 243: “The commonest mode of expressing our ‘although’ in Greek is by the *participle*, either alone or followed by *περ* (in the poets) or preceded by *καὶ περ*. The student must be careful not to suppose that *καὶ περ*, in itself, signifies ‘although.’ This fancy is the cause of the common blunder of placing *καὶ περ* before a finite verb.” Those, who have any real feeling for Greek construction, must have an intuitive conviction that *καὶ περ* can

no more introduce a finite concessive sentence than *καί* or *περ* separately. It is to be remarked that *καί* in this combination signifies "even" not "and," and the practice of separating the two particles, as in *καί μάλα περ κεχλωμένος*, and the like, shows that the concession is not in the particles themselves, but in the participle. In point of fact, although concessive sentences are of perpetual occurrence in Greek, as in other languages, there are only three examples, so far as I know, where the existing text exhibits *καί περ* with a finite verb. And as the corruption in each case is obvious and the remedy easy, really good scholars in this country will be surprised to hear that the most recent Greek grammarians in Germany, and certain Englishmen who pin their faith on the Germans, persist in teaching that *καί περ* may, though rarely, be used with the finite verb! The three passages to which I refer are, (a) Pindar *Nem.* iv. 36: *ἔμπα καί περ ἔχει βαθεῖα ποντίας ἄλμα μέσσον*; (b) Plato *Symp.* p. 219 c: *καί περ ἐκεῖνό γε ᾗμην τι εἶναι, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί· δικασταὶ γὰρ ἔστε τῆς Σωκράτους ὑπερφηανίας*. (c) Theophrastus *Charact.* c. II.: *καί περ εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἔχεις πρὸς τὰ ἔτη μέλαινα τὴν τρίχα*. To begin with the last, as the most recent and least important of the three passages, we have obviously a corruption for *καί τοι εἴπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἔχεις* κ.τ.λ., the *περ* having left its usual place in this construction. In the passage of Plato also (which is omitted in the Vatican MS.) the position of *γε* shows that *καί περ* here has taken the place of *καί τοι*, which is constantly followed by *γε*, as in Eurip. *Orest.* 77: *καί τοι στένω γε τῆς Κλυταμνήστρας μόρον*. Plato *Phædo*, p. 68: *καί τοι φάμεν γε ἀδύνατον εἶναι*. Besides, the passage is corrective rather than merely concessive, and therefore *καί τοι* is the better combination of particles. And so entirely is *περ* in the concessive construction limited to the participle, that even when it is added to *καί τοι*, which generally takes the finite verb, the participial construction follows; as in Herod. viii. 53: *καί τοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χωρίου*. Such being the case, it may seem surprising that, like all the other editors of Pindar, I allowed *καί περ* to stand in the passage quoted above, without any remark, and without suggesting the correction, which I believe to be as certain as it is necessary: *ἔμπα κείπερ ἔχει*, as in the passage from Soph. *Ajax* 563 which I have quoted in my note: *δοκον ἔμπα, καὶ τανῦν τηλωπὸς οἰχνεῖ*. The fact is that when I was writing my notes on Pindar some 14 years ago, I was consulted

by an eminent scholar, who was then engaged in examining for the Classical Tripos at Cambridge, as to the amount of discredit which ought to attach to a candidate for high honours who had construed *καὶ περ* with a finite verb in his Greek composition. I expressed my opinion that it was a blunder of the gravest character, and ought to be visited accordingly. In this opinion he concurred. But the subject was discussed a day or two afterwards in the company of other scholars, the passage from Plato was adduced, and the doubt was raised, whether there might not be many exceptions to a rule which appeared to us to be imperatively required by the genius of the Greek language. As the assertion of a negative is proverbially dangerous both in law and logic, I thought it best to make no remarks on the passage in Pindar until I had ascertained that there were no other examples of the construction in question. And having now sought in vain, for many years, to find any fourth violation of this idiom, I can have no hesitation in pronouncing that *καὶ περ* with a finite verb is utterly inadmissible. I am no lover of Procrustean canons, but the general analogy of a language, fortified by a thousand examples, must override three exceptional cases, in which there is so plain and simple a road to the necessary correction.

V.

Although I did not, in editing Pindar, venture to remove from the text the faulty construction of *καὶ περ* with a finite verb to which I have just now directed attention, I did not hesitate to correct the converse error, namely, the appearance of a participle with a conditional particle in *Ol. II. 56*, where for *εἰ δέ μιν ἔχων τις οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον*, I read *εὖ δέ μιν ἔχων τις οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον*, taking *εὖ* with *οἶδα*. I said in the preface (p. xi.) that the emphasis on *εὖ* justifies its position, and I have since then fallen in with the following passage of Plato (*Resp. VI. p. 492 E.*), where we have a similar prominence of the same adverb: *εὖ γὰρ χρὴ εἰδέναι*. With regard to the general question whether a participle can be used for the finite verb in conditional sentences, the alleged examples are so few and the necessity for such a construction is so incapable of proof, that I should not hesitate to adopt the simplest mode of getting rid of the difficulty. In addition to those, which

I have mentioned in the note on Pindar, there is only one example with which I am acquainted, namely, in the passage of Solon quoted by Demosthenes (*de Falsa Legat.* § 289), where Wolf's conjecture: *εἰ γέ τις [β] φεύγων* is required by the metre. The passage which creates the greatest difficulty is Æschyl. *Agam.* 414:

πάρεισιν δόξαι φέρουσαι χάριν ματαίαν
μάταν γὰρ εὐτ' ἂν ἐσθλά τις δοκῶν ὄρᾶν
παρallάξασα διὰ χερῶν
βέβακεν ὄψις οὐ μεθύστερον
πτερόις ὀπαδοῖς ὕπνου κελεύθοις,

where the poet is probably referring to Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 99, 100: *ὠρέξατο χερσὶ φάλασσι οὐδ' ἔλαβε*. I cannot think that *παρallάσσω*, which does not occur elsewhere in Æschylus, and which does not apply to the mere evanescence of a vision, would be used in this passage. Besides, the corresponding passage in the strophe *βέβακεν ῥίμψα διὰ πύλων*, shows that Æschylus intended the *διὰ χερῶν* to depend upon the *βέβακεν* which follows, and not on some participle preceding. Then again the phrase *διὰ χερῶν* points to the omission of some word in which the stretching out of the arms to embrace the visionary form was expressly signified. Having regard then to the fact that Æschylus frequently imitated Homer, that the preceding *ὄρᾶν* explains the loss by absorption of the first syllable of the verb used by Homer in the parallel passage, and that the full form of the subjunctive aorist *ὀρέξεται* is represented by the traces of the text *οραν παρallάξασα*, where *παρallασ-* may represent *γρ. ἄλλως* written under *μάταν*, and the first syllable may have been suggested by *πάρ-εισι* at the beginning of the previous line; I cannot help thinking that the insertion of *ὀρέξεται* is a better remedy for the impossible construction of *εὐτ' ἂν* with a participle, than Scholefield's *δοκῶν ὄρᾶ*, which is after all rather doubtful Greek. That *ὀρέγεσθαι* might be used by Æschylus with special reference to the hands is clear from *Choeph.* 420, *τὰ χερὸς ὀρέγματα* compared with *Agam.* 1082, *προτείνει δὲ χεῖρ' ἐκ χειρὸς ὀρεγομένα*. And as *ὀρέγομαι* is followed by an accusative in the Attic dramatists, and *σφε* is a perfectly general pronoun of reference in Æschylus, the metre might be completed by writing:

μάταν γὰρ, εὐτ' ἂν ἐσθλά τις δοκῶν ὄρᾶν
ὀρέξεται σφε, διὰ χερῶν
βέβακεν ὄψις κ.τ.λ.

VI.

Hitherto I have dealt with difficulties resulting from a faulty text. In the remaining example I have merely to vindicate the existing text from the imputation of violating the most important rule in Greek syntax—that respecting the position of the article. Nothing can be more certain than that all words, used for the purpose of definition, either stand between the article and the noun, or have their own article prefixed. Yet it may sometimes happen that an apposition is parenthetically inserted instead of being affixed, and this is the case in *Nem.* vii. 53:

κόρον δ' ἔχει
καὶ μέλι καὶ τὰ τέρπν' ἀνθε' Ἀφροδίσια.

Every person really imbued with Greek must feel that Ἀφροδίσια cannot be, like *τερπνά*, a mere epithet of *ἄνθεα*. On the contrary, the omission of the article before *μέλι*, the other subject of the verb *ἔχει*, would induce us to expect that the other nominative would also be without this definitive prefix, and, in point of fact, the sentence is completed by *κόρον ἔχει καὶ μέλι καὶ ἀφροδίσια*. But the poet inserts parenthetically *τὰ τέρπν' ἀνθεα*, "those sweet flowers," with reference to the same sort of imagery as that in *Æschylus Supplices* 979, where I read, following the traces of the MSS.:

καρπώματα στάζοντα κηρύσσει Κύπρις
κάωρα κωλύει τὰδ' ὡς μένειν Ἔρως.

cf. *Pind. Pyth.* iv. 33, *κάλυεν μείναι*.

We meet with other examples of the inserted apposition, which have not been noticed by scholars, and which are very likely to confuse the minds of learners; thus, we have in the same chorus of Euripides (*Bacchæ*, 978):

ἀνοιστρήσαστέ νιν
ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν γυναικομίμφ' στολᾷ
δῶλιον Μαινάδων σκόπον λυσσώδη,

where I have inserted *δῶλιον* from l. 954, and omitted *κατὰ* before *σκόπον* for the sake of the metre. And a little lower down we find (993):

τὸν ἄθεον, ἀνομον, ἄδικον,
Ἐχίονος γόνον γηγενῆ.

In both these passages it seems clear to me that the influence of the article does not extend beyond *στολᾷ* in the former passage, and the three adjectives beginning with the negative *ἀ*.

in the second extract; so that the meaning will be "against him in the counterfeit woman's robe, a deceitful spy of the Mænads in his own opinion, but really mad himself;" and "the godless, lawless, reckless one, Echion's earth-born son."

J. W. DONALDSON.

BURY ST EDMUND'S,
29 March, 1854.

IV.

Remarks on some of the Greek Tragic Fragments.

IN the course of the following remarks, I have taken occasion to correct a few oversights in my Epistle to Dr Gaisford, published in 1852. The references throughout are not to Dindorf, but to Wagner's recently completed edition.

Æsch. Cabiri. fr. 5 (94).

λείπειν, Blomfield's, or rather Heath's correction of λειπέν (for which I had suggested λείβειν) is probably right, as the sense of the passage seems to be, that the Cabiri are going to drink till no sort of liquor is left. Wagner properly refers to the preceding fragment, preserved by Plut. Quæst. Conviv. 2. 1. 7. p. 632 F. εἰ τις ἀντιστρέψας αἰτιῶτο τοὺς Δισχύλου Καβείρους "ἄξους σπανίζειν δῶμα" ποιήσαντας, ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ παίζοντες ἠπέδλησαν.

Æsch. Niobe. fr. 5 (154).

ἐπυροθεῖ for ὀρεχθεῖ is a conjecture of Görnitz: vide Lidd. and Sc. s. v. The imitation of Aristias, inc. fab. fr. 1 (6), μύκαισι δ' ὠρέχθει τὸ λάϊνον πέδον, first pointed out by Toup, seems to shew that some other correction is required. Probably in Æschylus we ought to read πᾶν ὀρεχθεῖται πέδον, with Ahrens, in Aristias ὠρεχθεῖτο λάϊνον πέδον.

Æsch. Ostologi (Ossilegi). fr. I (171).

σκοπός for κότταβος, though not mentioned by Dindorf, is a correction of Dobree's, Adv. II. p. 351, printed among his notes, not on Æschylus, but on Athenæus. Hermann's objection to the metre of the line so corrected may be met by Supp. 516, ἀλλ' οὐτι δαρὸν χρόνον ἐρημώσει πατήρ, which, as usual, he chooses to alter.

In v. 4, ἐστι σκοπός is merely an error for ἐπίσκοπος, "hitting the mark," which is to be constructed with the verb (ἔρριπτεν?) at the beginning of the next line. ἐπί and ἐστι are frequently confused: e.g. Cho. 170, 519. Aldus gives ἐπί. Dobree came near the truth when he conjectured τοῖς δ' ἀγκυλητοῖς κοσσάβοις ἐπίσκοπα Ὀσσαν ἐμῶν ἡβῶσα χεῖρ ἐφίετο.

Æsch. Promethei. fr. 1, 2 (180).

Paley (Terminalia, p. 71) seems right in separating the two fragments quoted by Galen, the πέμφιξ, as he remarks, being in the first evidently a whirlwind, in the second probably a volcanic vapour. This would lead us to refer the second passage,

ἐξευλαβοῦ δέ, μή σε προσβάλῃ στόμα
πέμφιξ· πικρὰ γάρ, κοῦ διὰ ζωῆς ἀτμοί,

to the Prometheus πυρφόρος, where it may have been Hephæstus' warning to Prometheus not to come too near the volcano Mosychlus, where he was working.

Æsch. Toxotides. fr. 2 (232).

Antigon. Caryl. Hist. Mirab. c. 127. p. 174, φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἱστορικῶς τὸ τοιοῦτον οὕτως πως εἰρηκεῖν πρὸς τὰς παρθένοὺς ἐν ταῖς Τοξότισιν

ἄδων ταῖς ἀγναῖς παρθένοισι γαμηλίων
λέκτρων αστεί μη (Herm. ἐτοίμη) βλεμμάτων ρεπιβουλή (Salm. ῥέπει βολή).

Is it possible that ἄδων (ἄδων) may belong to the preceding sentence, Αἰσχύλος . . . ἐν ταῖς Τοξότισιν ἄδων, and that the quotation in full may have been ὡς ταῖσιν ἀγναῖς, or ταῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀγναῖς, or something of the kind?

Æsch. inc. fr. 7 (279).

νέας δ' ὀπώρας ἡνίκ' ἂν ξανθῇ στάχυς,
στικτὴ νιν αὖθις ἀμφινωμήσει πτέρυξ.

None of the editors has remarked on ξανθῇ: yet it has no sense if taken from ξαίνω, while ξανθείω does not seem to occur. ἡνίκ' αὐξηθῇ might be suggested, but the true reading is probably ἐξανθῇ, as in Pers. 821, ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦς' ἐκάρπωσε στάχυν Ἄτης, ὅθεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμῇ θέρος. Comp. Soph. Mant. fr. 4 (369), πρῶτον μὲν ὄψει λευκὸν ἀνθοῦντα στάχυν.

Æsch. inc. fr. 13 (285).

σύ τοι μ' ἔφυσας, σύ με καταίθειν δοκεῖς.

Grotius reads καταφθεῖν. Perhaps καταθαλοῦν may be better, as

the editors seem right in referring the line to Meleager. Hermann's *σύ τοι με φνυσῆς* (the reading of Plut. vit. Demetr. c. 35, p. 905. D), *σύ με καταναεῖν δοκεῖς*, Horace's "*Exanimat lentus spectator, sedulus inflat*," is highly ingenious: but the application to fortune appears from the passages of Plutarch to have been made by Demetrius, not found by him in Æschylus.

Æsch. inc. fr. 14 (286).

θάρσει· πόνου γὰρ ἄκρον οὐκ ἔχει χρόνον.

The text is sound, *ἄκρον* being the nom., as is shewn by the context in Plut. de Aud. Poet. 14, p. 36. c, which Dindorf does not quote.

Æsch. inc. fr. 45, 46 (314, 315).

*τό τοι κακὸν ποδῶκες ἔρχεται βροτοῖς,
καὶ τὰμπλάκημα, τῷ περῶντι τὴν θέμιν.*

There seems reason to suppose that these lines go together, as they are quoted continuously in the Aug. MS. of Stobæus, and also in Theophilus (ad Autolyc. 2. p. 257, ed. Wolf.) May not they be explained "Suffering comes quick on mortals, *even as* transgression on him (namely) that violates justice," where the use of *καὶ* instead of a relative particle is consonant with ancient simplicity, and actually more forcible? Compare such phrases as *ἅμ' ἔργον ἅμ' ἔπος*. In *κατ' ἀμπ.* which Hermann has anticipated, or *μετ' ἀμπ.* we should rather miss the article.

Æsch. inc. fr. 79 (348).

βοῆς τοιοῦδε πράγματος θεωρὸς ὦν.

Valckenaer *Θόας*. Perhaps *ὀρᾶς*, as in Ag. 1623, *οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὀρῶν τάδε*; but there is no context to guide us.

Æsch. inc. fr. 175 (444).

Phot. p. 447, 14, *πρέψαι τὸ ὁμοῖωσαι. Αἰσχύλος*. It is surprising that Hermann, who quotes this gloss to support Boissonade's correction of *πρέψειεν* for *τρέψειεν* in Ag. 1328, should not have seen that we must consequently read *σκία τις ἂν πρέψειεν*, "One would compare them to a shadow." Comp. ib. 552, *τὰ μὲν τις εὖ λέξειεν εὐπετῶς ἔχειν*. So in Supp. 301, *φασίν, πρέποντα βουθόρῳ ταύρῳ δέμας, πρέποντα* is active, "making his body like."

Soph. Aleadæ. fr. 9 (85).

*τὰ χρήματ' ἀνθρώποισιν εὐρίσκει φίλους,
αἰδοῖς δὲ τιμάς, εἴτα τῆς ὑπερτάτης*

τυραννίδος τ' ἄγουσιν αἰσχίστην ἔδραν.
 ἔπειτα δ' οὐδεὶς ἐχθρὸς οὔτε φύεται
 πρὸς χρήμαθ', οἳ τε φύντες ἀρνούνται στυγεῖν.
 δεινὸς γὰρ ἔρπειν πλούτος ἔς τε τᾶβαρα
 καὶ πρὸς τὰ βατά, χῶπόθεν πένης ἀνὴρ
 μηδ' ἐντυχὼν δύναται ἂν ὦν ἐρᾷ τυχεῖν.
 καὶ γὰρ δυσειδὲς σῶμα καὶ δυσώνυμον
 γλώσση σοφὸν τίθησιν εὐμορφόν τ' ἰδεῖν.
 μόνῳ δὲ χαίρειν καὶ νοσεῖν ἐξουσία
 πάρεστιν αὐτῷ κάπικρύψασθαι κακά.

In v. 3 there is considerable variety of reading in the MSS. of *αἰσχος*, *ἤκουσιν* or *ἄκουσιν* being found for *τ' ἄγουσιν*, *ἀγχίστην* and *την* for *αἰσχίστην*. *ἀγχίστην* would seem to be right, as furnish the best explanation of *αἰσχίστην*, out of which no alteration in the context could extract any sense. If we take *ἀγχίστην* with *νίδος*, Salmasius' *θακοῦσιν* for *τ' ἄγουσιν* is probable enough, though something might be said for avoiding a change of construction, by reading *ταγείσαν*. Possibly, however, the word may be a corruption of a substantive in the dative, which was meant to be constructed with *ἀγχίστην*, a structure found in Homer and Euripides; and in that case the word can hardly have been anything other than *θεοῖσιν*. In v. 7 *βατά* appears to be merely an error for *μα*. The strange use of *δυσώνυμον*, v. 9, as opposed to *σοφόν*, obviously requires noting and illustrating, not correcting: but the word may be a corruption of some less known compound, such as *δυστωμύλον*, or *δυσ-* may have crept in from *δυσειδὲς*, the text having been originally something like *καὶ γὰρ δυσειδὲς σῶμα καὶ δυσώνυμον γλώσσης σοφὸν τίθησιν*. In v. 11, Bergk's *κάνοσεῖν* and Vater's *κοῦ νοσεῖν* rather jar with *κάπικρύψασθαι*, so that we must either accept Vater's explanation *χαίρειν καὶ νοσεῖν* = *χαίρειν νοσοῦντα*, read *νοσοῦντ'*, where the mixture of datives and accusatives would be idiomatic enough. With the sense comp. Juv. vii. 193, *lix orator quoque maximus et jaculator: Et si perfrixit, at bene.*

Soph. Amphiarus. fr. 8 (124).

ἐνθ' οὔτε πέλλεις οἷ' ἄγραιος βοτός.

It seems evident from the passage in Erot. Lex. p. 306, that Schneidewin and others are right in supposing *πέλλεις* to be a misreading for some case of *πελλός*, probably *πελλῆς*. It is strange however that Schneidewin, who himself refers to *τὰν οἶν τὰν πελλάν*, in his ocr. v. 99, should have changed *οἷ'* here into *ῥινόν*, when *οἷ'* so

naturally suggests *oîds*. Any further restoration must be mere guess-work in the absence of the context: but *πελλῆς οἰδὸς ἀγραυλὸς βοτῆς* would come sufficiently near the original, without being improbable in itself.

Soph. Ἀχαιλλέως ἐρασταί. fr. 6 (159).

τέλος δ' ὁ χυμὸς οὐθ' ὅπως ἀφῇ θέλει
οὐτ' ἐν χεροῖν τὸ κτῆμα σύμφορον μένειν.

Perhaps οὐτ' ἐν χεροῖν τῷ.

Soph. Erigone. fr. 2 (226).

Erotian. p. 374, ὑποφρον, κρυφαῖον, ὡς φησιν ὁ Ταραντίνος. μαρτυρεῖ γὰρ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Σμηρινόγῃ (sic) λέγων "νῦν δ' εἰρὴ ὑποφρος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔως ἀπώλεσε τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξαπώλετο." μέμνηται ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐν Ἰφιγενείᾳ. καὶ ὁ Ἰπποκράτης δὲ σαφὲς ποιεῖ λέγων "οὐθὲν ὅττι καὶ ὑποφρον καὶ ἔχον περὶ αὐτὸ θαλάμας." εἰ οὖν αἱ καταδύσεις θαλάμαι λέγονται, εἰκότως πᾶν τὸ σκεπόμενον κρυφαῖόν ἐστι καὶ ὑποφρον. The word *ὑπόροφος* occurs in Eurip. Iph. Aul. 1204, to which it has been restored by Hermann after Scaliger, in place of the corrupt *ὑπόστροφον* or *ὑπότροφον*, so that it is possible it may have been the word explained by Tarentinus as *κρυφαῖος*, a sense which it might very well bear, Erotian having confused Sophocles and Euripides. It would also not be out of place in the passage from Hippocrates (Vol. vi. p. 18, ed. Littré), where *ὑπόρροον* is actually the reading of one MS., *ὑπαφρον* of the rest. Hipp. is speaking of the veins which lie about the bones, and *θαλάμαι* agrees well with *ὑπόροφος*, which happens to be exactly expressed by Erotian's *σκεπόμενος*. We might also suggest that Hipp. wrote *καλάμας*, regarding *ὑπόροφος* as a derivative from *ὄροφος*, a reed, as it seems to be in Eur. Orest. 147. Against all this is to be urged the fact, that *ὑπαφρος*, found in an obscure passage, Rhes. 711, seems to have been a traditional synonym of *κρυφαῖος*, as appears from Hesych. τὸ μὴ φανερόν "Ὑπαφρον λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ (ἄλλοι) τὸ Ὑπαφρον τὴν ὑγρασίαν ἔχον ἐμπερὴ ἀφρῶ. ἔνιοι, κρύφιον καὶ ὑπουλον, τὸ Ὑπαφρον: the force of the word however has yet to be explained.

Soph. Thyest. (?) fr. 11 (247). Eur. Hel. 253.

ἔχεις μὲν ἀλγείν', οἶδα· πειρᾶσθαι δὲ χρή
ὡς ῥᾶστα τὰναγκαῖα τοῦ βίου φέρειν.

Perhaps *ἀλγείν* would be preferable, on grounds of euphony. One MS. of Stob. gives *ἀλγείν* ᾤ. Comp. CEd. C. 820, τάχ' ἔξεις μᾶλλον οἰμῶζειν τάδε. There can be little doubt that the lines are really taken from Eurip. l. c., as the variation may be accounted

for by supposing a copyist to have remembered *Æsch. Prom. 103*,
 τὴν πεπρωμένην δὲ χρὴ Αἴσαν φέρειν ὡς ῥῆστα.

Soph. *Laocoon. fr. 5 (352)*.

συμπλάζεται δὲ πλῆθος, οὐχ ὅσον δοκεῖς,
 οἱ τῇσδ' ἐρώσι τῆς ἀποικίας, Φρυγῶν.

The best MS. of Dionysius is said to have *συμπάζεται*, which supports Tyrwhitt's *συνοπάζεται*. Possibly *συμπάζεται* may be right, though not found elsewhere, as equivalent to *ὀπάζεται*, where the initial *ὀ* has been already supposed by some (see Lidd. and Scott) to be ἀθροιστικόν. *ἐμπάζομαι* seems to be another compound of the same verb.

Soph. *Μάντις. fr. 6 (371)*.

οὔτοι ποθ' ἦξει τῶν ἄκρων ἄνευ πόνου.

There seems no occasion for any change, except perhaps of *ἦξει* into *ἦξαις*. *ἦκω* can take a genitive of the point arrived at, like *ἐφικνέομαι*, *προσικνέομαι*, as appears from *Hdt. vii. 157*, quoted by Lidd. and Scott. So possibly *Æsch. Supp. 475*, διὰ μάχης ἦξω τέλους.

Soph. *Nauplius. fr. 2 (401)*.

οὗτος δ' ἐφέυρε τεῖχος Ἀργείων στρατῷ,
 στάθμη δ' ἀριθμῶν καὶ μέτρων εὐρήματα,
 τάξεις δὲ ταύτας οὐράνιά τε σήματα,
 κάκειν' ἔτευξε πρῶτος ἐξ ἐνὸς δέκα,
 κακ τῶνδε καθ' οἷον εὖρε πεντηκοντάδας
 ὅς χιλι' εὐθύς· ὃς στρατῷ φρυκτωρίαν
 ἔδειξε κἀνέφηρην οὐ δεδειγμένα.
 ἐφέυρε δ' ἄστρον μέτρα καὶ περιστροφὰς,
 ὕπνου φυλάξεις στιθῶα σημαντήρια
 νεῶν τε ποιμαντήρην ἐνθαλασσίους,
 Ἄρκτου στροφὰς τε καὶ Κυνὸς ψυχρὰν δύσιν.

Keil's *κακ τῶν δέκ' αὐθις*, v. 5, is certainly true, and Heath's *ἐς χιλι' οὗτος εἰς*, v. 6, not improbable; in other respects not much has been done for the verses by the critics whose corrections Wagner records. V. 3 is apparently out of its place, but that place does not seem to have been after v. 8, as *τάξεις* coupled with *ταύτας* evidently refers to the divisions of the army, an invention attributed to Palamedes by *Æsch. Palam. fr. 1 (173)*. The simplest course would be to reverse the order of vv. 2, 3: but it seems better to place v. 3 after v. 6, so as to gain a substantive agreeing with *δεδειγμένα*, the sense plainly being 'he made them

known when no one before had done so.' In either case οὐράνι τε σήματα are rather out of place; we may suppose, however, either that Sophocles chose to refer generally to discoveries which he afterwards unfolds more at large, or that some other epithet originally stood with σήματα, which in this connexion would naturally mean the watchwords of the army. Probably the corruption, if any there be, as well as the transposition, was made before the time of Achilles Tatius, who quotes the whole passage with reference to the stars, seemingly supposing vv. 4—6 to mean, that Palamedes first found out the number of the heavenly bodies, as in Virg. Georg. i. 137, 'Navita tum stellis numeros et nomina fecit,' whereas it is plain that he is meant to have been the discoverer of number generally, as in the fragment quoted by Stobæus, Phys. i. 1, and attributed by Matthiæ to the Palamedes of Euripides. These suggestions, as against the view taken by others of the order of the verses, are strongly confirmed by Plato, Rep. vii. 522. D, who evidently refers to this very passage, though with the exception of Bullialdus (censured by Stallbaum, l. c.) no critic appears to have perceived the allusion, ἡ οὐκ ἐννεόηκας ὅτι φησὶν [Παλαμήδης] ἀριθμὸν εὐράν τὰς τε τάξεις τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καταστήσαι ἐν Ἰλίῳ καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι ναῦς τε καὶ τὰλλα πάντα, ὡς προτοῦ ἀναριθμήτων ὄντων καὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδ' ὅσους πόδας εἶχεν εἰδότες, εἴπερ ἀριθμεῖν μὴ ἡπίστατο; There is indeed nothing here to shew that Plato did not find the passage in the order in which it stands in Tatius, himself choosing to connect the insertion of number with the arrangement of the army: but it would be difficult to believe that Sophocles intended κακέϊν in a connexion like this, to refer to any other word than εὐρήματα. In v. 2 it matters little whether we correct στάθμη δ' into στάθμην τ' with Grotius, or into σταθμῶν with Heath. V. 9 is rightly understood by Keil and Wagner, of the use of the stars to sentinels (comp. Eur. Iph. A. init., Rhes. 527, sqq.), though neither the former's ὕπνου φύλαξιν ἐσθλὰ σ., nor the latter's ὕπνου φυλάξεις πιστὰ σ. is quite satisfactory. The Vat. MS. gives φυλάξεις ἰθὺς, which seems to lead to φύλαξι πιθανά. With v. 11 comp. Virg. Georg. i. 138.

Soph. Ποιμένες. fr. 16 (483):

λόγῳ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔλκος οἶδά που χανόν.

The line is quoted by Suidas, v. θρηνεῖν ἐπωδάς, to illustrate Aj. 582, so that the reference is plainly to the healing of wounds

by song. This however does not come out from the words as they stand, where *λόγῳ*, even if connected with *χανόν* rather than with *οἶδα*, would yield no sense. If we read *εὔδειν* for *οὐδέν*, the meaning will appear at once, 'I know that gaping wounds are lulled by song.' Comp. Phil. 650, *κοιμῶ τόδ' ἔλκος*. *εὔδον* would be rather more idiomatic, but would create a confusion with *χανόν*.

Soph. Polyxena. fr. 3 (491).

ἀκτὰς ἀπαίωνάς τε καὶ μελαμβαθεῖς
λιποῦσα λίμνης ἦλθον ἄρσενας χόας,
Ἀχέροντος ὀξυπλήγας ἡχούσης γόους.

This arrangement, which is Jacobs's, agrees better both with the sense and with the order of the words in the MSS., than Grotius and Heyne's, where *ἄρσενας χόας* takes the place of *ἡχούσης γόους*, and *vice versâ*. The meaning is clear without any alteration, being in fact explained by Virgil's 'tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso.' *χόας* is the water of the lake formed by the overflow of Acheron, *ἄρσενας* probably expressing not infecundity, as explained by Porphyry, ap. Stob., but violence, like *κτύπος ἄρσην πόντου*, Phil. 1455, compared by Ellendt and Schneidewin. *ἡχούσης* seems better than *ἡχούσας*, though the latter is nearer the *ἡχοῦσα* or *ἐχούσας* of the MSS.: possibly also *μελαμβαθοῦς* would be an improvement on *μελαμβαθεῖς*. The lake is said to resound the wails of Acheron, which keeps pouring into it, much as Virgil (Georg. II. 163) describes the Portus Julius as echoing with the sea that breaks against its embankment.

Soph. 'Ριζοτόμοι. fr. 4 (502).

Ἦλιε δέσποτα
καὶ πῦρ ἱρόν, τῆς εἰνοδίας
Ἐκάτης ἔγχος, τῷ δι' Ὀλύμπου
πολλὴ φέρεται καὶ γῆς, καίονσ'
ἱερὰς τριόδους, στεφανωσαμένη
δρυὶ καὶ πλεκτοῖς
ὤμων σπείραισι δρακόντων.

Possibly *ἔγχος* may be an error for *ἐντος* (a word only occurring in the singular in one other passage), in the sense of a chariot, as in Pind. Ol. IV. 22, *χαλκίοισι δ' ἐν ἔντεσι νικῶν δρόμον*. If *ἔγχος* is right, the allusion may be to the arrow of Abaris the Scythian.

Soph. Scyrii. fr. 4 (521).

οἱ ποντοναῦται τῶν ταλαιπώρων βροτῶν,
οἷς οὔτε δαίμων οὔτε τις θεῶν νέμων
πλούτου ποτ' ἂν νείμειεν ἀξίαν χάριν.

νέμων could hardly stand with *νείμειν*, and *χάρις* would be better without the addition of *πλούτου*. Should not we read *οὔτε τις θεῶν μέδων πόττου*?

JOHN CONINGTON.

(To be continued.)

V.

On Schneidewin's Edition of the Œdipus Rex.
Leipzig, 1849.

THE Tragedies of Sophocles edited by Professor Schneidewin (the *Trachiniæ* alone is yet unpublished), belong to the Leipsic Collection of Greek and Latin Classics superintended by Doctors Haupt and Sauppe. Prof. Schneidewin is a good scholar and an able interpreter of Sophocles. His edition is a step in advance. But he has left gleanings in the field; and I cannot always side with him.

I propose to notice the places in which Schneidewin differs from former editors, as well as those in which I am at variance with him. And I begin with the dramas of the Theban cycle. But first—there are two features in the diction of Sophocles, which an interpreter of that poet must carefully note and constantly bear in mind. For convenient reference, I shall call them Observations I. II. and III.

Obs. I. In his collocation of words, or (as old grammarians would say) in his use of the figure *Hyperbaton*, Sophocles is more audacious than any other poet, especially where such freedom is in some degree licensed by the mysterious or impassioned tone of the speaker. Schneidewin has correctly pointed out the prophetic obscurity of the language of *Tiresias*. But I shall have frequent occasion to notice the free collocations of Sophocles in passages marked by no ethical peculiarity. For instance. In the *Classical Museum* (Vol. VI. p. 6), appeared a new interpretation of *Soph. Antig.* 31, 32.

(τοιαῦτά φασι τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κρεοντὰ σοι
κάμοι, λέγω γὰρ καμέ, κηρύξαντ' ἔχειν,

"Such is the proclamation which they say has been published by your good Creon, aye and mine, for I own I too thought him so.")

This (I will venture to say) certain interpretation would not have been gainsaid by Mr Conington and others on the ground of objection to the hyperbaton of the word σοι, if they had noted the many and far bolder trajections of this kind which occur in Sophocles. The same explanation has been given by Schneidewin—independently, I presume, or he would have thought it right to acknowledge the obligation.

[It seems, however, that Schneidewin seldom does notice the labours of any predecessors, either for praise or blame: a practice hardly to be considered fair or wise.]

Obs. II. Sophocles especially delights in that σχῆμα πρὸς τὸ σημαυνόμενον, which consists in adapting the tenour of his thoughts and language to suppressed clauses, which the mind must supply from the context. All poets claim this license more or less: but none, I believe, has used it so largely and boldly as Sophocles. A striking instance is found in the following passage of the *Œdipus Coloneus*, which, like that of the *Antigone*, Scholiasts and Editors have hitherto failed to understand. *Œd.* Col. 308, 9:

ἀλλ' εὐτυχὴς ἵκοιτο τῇ θ' αὐτοῦ πόλει
ἐμοί τε. τίς γὰρ ἐσθλὸς οὐχ αὐτῷ φίλος;

Hermann, Wunder, Schneidewin and others have committed the æsthetical sin of referring the latter clause τίς γὰρ κ.τ.λ. to ἐμοί, and thus placing in the mouth of the Sophoclean *Œdipus* a maxim more fit for the Bagstocks and Bounderbys of Mr C. Dickens, that "every good man studies his own interest." By referring the latter words to a suppressed clause, which the context suggests, we obtain the just and beautiful sentiment embodied in the following interpretation: "May he (i.e. Theseus, for whom a messenger has been dispatched) come fraught with blessing to his own city and to me:—*to himself I need not say*:—for what good man is not a blessing to himself?"

Obs. III. The student of the *Œdipus Rex* must particularly observe, that the condition, character, conduct and language of *Œdipus* have been adapted by the poet with the most studious nicety to heighten the tragic effect of the peripeteia and catastrophe of that wonderful drama. The petty pedantry of Voltaire (Preface to *Ceipe*) has raked together a heap of objections against this play—such as the self-glorification of *Œdipus*, the improbability of his being unacquainted with the details of the fate of Laius, &c. Without replying to these cavils individually, as

we might, it is enough to say that our poet, like bold painters (a Poussin, a Turner, or a Martin), has cast into the shade minor considerations, and concentrated his whole power in the production of one grand and terrible effect—"how art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!" With this view the admiration and sympathy of the spectators are enlisted in favour of Œdipus as a great and wise king and the father of his people (v. 1); and if his self-assertion and confidence, his hot temper and haughty spirit, tend in any degree to diminish our respect, on the other hand they heighten the horror of his fall and the pitiable effect of his sufferings.

Œd. R. 3.

Ἰκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν ἐξεστεμμένοι.

Wunder, in his Excursion on this verse, has assembled many passages, chiefly from tragedy, relating to the ἀφίξις of suppliants to the altars, with ἰκτηριοὶ or ἰκτηρες κλάδοι, called in one word *ικεσῖαι*. They were boughs, he says, of olive wreathed with wool, hence called *στέφη* or *στέμματα*, borne in the hands, laid down on the altars by the suppliants when seated on *βάθρα*, taken away when they rose with favorable hopes, otherwise left there. Wunder follows the Scholiast in explaining *ἐξεστεμμένοι* to mean no more than *κεκοσμημένοι* (*ἐχόντες κλάδους ἰκτηρίους*), and this he thinks may be said of the suppliants even when they have laid down their boughs on the altars. Schneidewin, following Matthiæ (though not citing him), considers *ἐξεστεμμένοι* = *ἐχόντες ἐστεμμένους*, the wreathing of the boughs being transferred to the suppliants themselves. Of these interpretations I prefer the latter, for, as *ἐξεστεμμένον* is afterwards (v. 19) used alone to describe the guise of suppliants, I think it must include the idea of the wreathed boughs. But, after all, have we not here one of those many tantalizing ancient customs, which we can but imperfectly comprehend in the absence of minute description, or (what would be better still) glyptic representation? For instance, what was the size and form of these κλάδοι? That they were not cumbersome, appears from their being laid in numbers on the altar, and from the fact that Jocasta comes on the stage with several of them in her hands at the same time.

τάδ' ἐν χερσὶν

στέφη λαβύση καπιθυμάματα. 913.

In the first book of the Iliad (which Wunder has omitted to

quote), the priest of Apollo supplicates the Grecian chiefs *στέμματ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἐκίβολου Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ*, from which we must infer that the *στέμμα* (unless tied to the *σκήπτρον*) was wreathed into a circular form and hung upon the staff. Cassandra, in the *Agamemnon*, wears an oracular chaplet round her neck—*μαντεία περὶ δέρῃ στέφη*. Were the suppliant *στέφη* similarly shaped? and, if so, were they ever worn on the head or neck? There appears to be no proof of their being worn, and we find them commonly carried in the hands. But is it not possible that each suppliant, while seated, might retain his *στέμμα* attached to his neck by a festoon of wool, even while it lay on or beside the altar? This supposition, if admissible, would explain at the same time this verse and v. 143, where *Œdipus* directs the suppliants to take up their boughs. It may serve, at all events, to invite discussion.

4. *πόλις δ' ὁμοῦ μὲν θυμαμάτων γέμει*
ὁμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων.

When the particles *μὲν*, *δέ* are used distributively without adversative force, *Sophocles* loves to connect them with a word (as *ὁμοῦ* here) common to, and introduced in, both clauses.

So v. 25,

φθίνουσα μὲν κάλυξιν ἐγκάρποις χθονός,
φθίνουσα δ' ἀγέλαις βουνόμοις.

v. 219,

ἀγὼ ξένος μὲν τοῦ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐξερῶ
ξένος δὲ τοῦ πραχθέντος.

v. 260,

ἔχων μὲν ἀρχὰς ἃς ἐκεῖνος εἶχε πρὶν,
ἔχων δὲ λέκτρα καὶ γυναῖχ' ὁμόσπορον.

v. 521,

εἰ κακὸς μὲν ἐν πόλει,
κακὸς δὲ πρὸς σοῦ καὶ φίλων κεκλήσομαι.

And v. 312, (*μὲν* being understood)

ῥῦσαι σεαυτὸν καὶ πόλιν, ῥῦσαι δ' ἐμέ,
ῥῦσαι δὲ πᾶν μίasma τοῦ τεθνηκότος.

These examples, to which many more might be added, will suffice to establish the idiom.

8. *ὁ πᾶσι κλεινὸς Οἰδίπους καλούμενος.*

Wunder has rashly ventured to reject this verse on two grounds: (1) because the opening speakers do not name them-

selves in the other plays of Sophocles; and (2) to get rid of the unpleasing self-adulation of Œdipus. The former objection is removed by simply saying that Sophocles did not introduce this verse for the purpose of informing the spectators who the speaker is. As to the latter, see Obs. III.

Schneidewin translates: 'Allen der erlauchte Œdipus geheissen.' He should rather have written: 'Der allen erlauchte.' The Dativus Ethicus *πᾶσι* depends, I think, on *κλεινός*, not on *καλούμενος*. See v. 40.

νῦν τ', ὃ κρᾶτιστον πᾶσιν Οἰδίπου κᾶρα.

Œd. Col. 1446,

ἀνάξια γὰρ πᾶσιν ἔστε δυστυχεῖν.

Aristoph. Ach. 8,

ἄξιον γὰρ Ἑλλάδι.

See Antig. 31, cited in Obs. I.

So in the verse Trach. 541,

ὁ πιστὸς ἡμῖν κἀγαθὸς καλούμενος,

I refer the Dative (ethically) to the adjectives rather than to the participle.

B. H. KENNEDY.

(*To be continued.*)

VI.

On the Classical Authorities for Ancient Art.

"Archæologiæ, quam non ut olim universam antiquitatis scientiam, sed illam modo ejus partem, quæ ad artium monumenta spectat, appellare consuerunt, hæc est ratio, ut, quum tres sint ex quibus hauriri debeat fontes, ipsorum contemplatio superstitum monumentorum; *testimonia litterarum*; indagatio eorum quæ rei cujusque natura fert vel poscit: eorum in nullo quidem non diligentia, exercitatione, rectoque et canto judicio opus sit, sed maxime id, quod secundo loco posui, quia plenum est operis et laboris, vel negligatur, vel a quibusdam etiam contemnatur. Et tamen fere potissimum est: quia testimoniis certissima conficitur rerum cognitio, si quidem iis et interpretatio et, ubi opus est, recta emendatio adhibeatur."

The above words, which I have selected as a frontispiece to this and succeeding articles on kindred subjects, furnish us with a succinct and faithful enumeration of the sources, from which the archæological enquirer must fill his pitcher. I should value them the more, if they set forth with greater explicitness the truth which it is incumbent on all, who have at heart the advancement of learning, carefully to remember, viz. that Archæology and Philology are two studies which should ever go hand in hand, each leaning upon, each upholding the other: two great lights in the firmament of Fore-time, Philology ruling the day of written text, Archæology governing the night of chiselled stones. Such a precept however, could hardly have flowed from the pen of Gottfried Hermann, a scholar whose example was diametrically opposed alike to its precept and its letter. Not once only in his writings do we meet with sneers against those who have made use of Archæology as a clue to the interpretation of classical texts. From the pupil of such a man as Reiz more catholic views might have been expected. But Hermann was essentially a one-sided man. Imperishable no doubt is the name he has won, distinct the epoch he has created, in the various departments of purely formal philology, grammar, metre, criticism—to which he devoted the energies (the German energies) of a long and laborious life. Still, it may safely be asserted, that the exclusive cultivation of this, as of any other *one* branch of classical antiquity, will little avail towards that reproduction and full manifestation of the living relations of the ancient world, which, as heirs of the civilization of the past, we should do our utmost to compass. Rather will it degenerate into a dull soulless pedantry, a barren monomania for unearthing limping anapaests, or retailing mutilated trimeters. Loudly and unceasingly to protest against this narrow and narrowing treatment of classic lore, was one of the many noble aims which Niebuhr proposed to himself, and which by precept and example he did his utmost to further. Well and wisely does he exclaim in one of his invaluable letters: "Oh! how men would hug philology if they did but know what it was to revel in the choicest haunts of bygone times, weaving the warp and woof of life."

It may be my privilege, from time to time, in the pages of this Journal, to vindicate these claims of archæology, and to shew how she may be made subsidiary to the interpretation of classical texts. My present purpose, however, is, in some degree,

the opposite of this. I shall deal almost exclusively with the second of those sources enumerated by Hermann—the “*testimonia litterarum*.” Given for instance the fact of Polychromy as borne out by traces of colour on temple and statue, my object would be to ascertain how far that fact admits of corroboration by like traces and allusions in the pages of authors. That such corroboration is needed to give to Polychromy a recognised place among the processes of ancient art, no thoughtful man will deny. Those, who have more especially addressed themselves to the consideration of this subject, have for the most part approached it, with theories cut and dried, and to suit those preconceived theories they have warped ambiguous texts, and made the very stones cry out in their support! Thus it has come to pass, that while one man asserts, with all the emphasis of italics, that such and such a temple bears unequivocal traces of blue in frise, metope, or triglyph, another maintains with equal vehemence that the aforesaid frise is red as red can be: just as if the temple had been stared into blushes. To both these advocates (for advocates they are, not judges) of conflicting theories, it would be but reasonable to suggest the enquiry, how far these traces may be owing to the presence of certain substances in the stone, which, under the action of time or sea-air, may bring about, by a purely chemical process, effects liable to be mistaken for those of colour*. It is this absence of solid, well-ascertained facts, this contradiction in the accounts of travellers, which encourages me to confine myself almost exclusively, for the present, to the *testimonia litterarum*. As far as I know myself, I have no desire to shore up and *underpin* any crazy system or theory by desperate makeshifts and disingenuous arts. I shall take my statements as I find them, not packed, and would select for my motto the words of one of old: Νικήν νίκην τήν καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ προσδιαλεγόμενῃ ἀβλαβείᾳ. Φιλοτιμέεσθαι παρὰ καιρὸν πρὸς φίλους καὶ ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσι φυλασσοίμην. Μήκοτε καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἐμοὶ δοκέον ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσι τοῦ νικᾶν ἔνεκα ἔριν ἀσπασαίμην. Μήκοτε ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοῦ ἀληθείας καὶ ὥστε παρ’ ἃ αὐτὸς οἶδα παραλογίσασθαι τὸν προσδιαλεγόμενον ἐρίσαι ἐπαρθεῖν. Τοῖς τὸ ἀληθὲς λόγοις ξυνιστᾶσιν αἰεὶ ξυμμαχοίμην. Stob. Florileg. i. p. 39, Ed. Tauchn.

Reserving for a future occasion such remarks as I may have

* I would not be understood, by this, to deny the existence of *bona fide* traces of colour. I merely suggest that other

causes have not sufficiently been taken into account.

to offer on the evidences obtainable from Classical texts on Classical Polychromy, I purpose to devote this present article to a preliminary enquiry—once for all—on the more special sources of the *testimonia litterarum*, with reference to the history of ancient artists and the processes of ancient art. Along with or subsequent to the enumeration of the witnesses, I would test the value of the evidence, and see how far the wish to be veracious was unable to compensate for want of judgment, of the “*indagatio eorum quæ rei cujusque natura fert vel poscit.*” And here I would observe that I think we should be apt to form a very erroneous estimate of the value of those works on ancient art which time has spared, if we did not bear in mind the nature and number of like works of which time (for all that we know at present) has left us nothing but the mention and the name:—works, remember, some of which Pliny and Pausanias had in their *armaria*, and to which they would doubtless refer, if they could rise from their graves, as vouchers for many a statement, which now rests with them alone. Accordingly, I hope it will be not thought paradoxical, if I preface my remarks on works extant by a catalogue raisonné of works lost. My object, I wish it to be understood, is a very simple one: first, to find out all I can about certain lost works and authors, referred to by Pliny and other extant writers on art: secondly, to estimate the trustworthiness and value generally of those who so refer to them.

I shall begin with the Sir Joshuas and Flaxmans of antiquity, who appear to have handled the stylus as well as the chisel and the *πάβδιον*. Among the authorities quoted by Pliny in the list of contents of Book xxxiv. of his Natural History is one Menæchmus “*qui de toreutice scripsit.*” It seems but fair to conjecture, that it is to the same Menæchmus he alludes in xxxiv. § 19, 80 (Ed. Sillig. 1851), where he says: “*Menæchmi vitulus genu premitur, replicata cervice: ipse Menæchmus scripsit de sua arte.*” This is all that Pliny tells us about this artist-author, Menæchmus. The “*replicata cervix*” immediately turns the thoughts of the archæologist to the so-called Mithraic bas-reliefs and statues, which are to be seen in the most considerable collections in Europe. In the Louvre is to be found one of the most curious, in the British Museum two of the most beautiful, of these representations. Works of ancient art—handmaid as she was to religion—fall so readily into classes, have so much

that is ideographic about them, present, that is, such salient typical forms, that the smallest indication, such as that here given about knee and neck, is quite sufficient to place us on the scent. The fact involved is one to which we shall presently recur. Meanwhile, the question naturally suggests itself: can we learn nothing of the said Menæchmus elsewhere? The reader of Pausanias at once turns to the 18th chapter of that author's *Achaica*. He is there told that in the citadel of Patræ stood a temple of the Laphrian Artemis: in the temple, a statue of the goddess, of which the history, Pausanias learned, was as follows: It was originally on the other side of the gulf, at Calydon—of boar notoriety—but Augustus gave it, along with other spoils, to Patræ, where Pausanias saw it. "The costume of the statue," he adds, "is that of a huntress; the material, gold and ivory; it was made by *Menæchmus* and *Soidas* of *Naupactus*, who flourished, it is conjectured, soon after *Canachus* of *Sicyon* and *Callon* of *Ægina*." We may place this *Menæchmus* then about Ol. 80; at any rate, it seems probable that the statue was executed before Ol. 87, for otherwise the artists would have styled themselves *Messenians*, or *Μεσσηνιοὶ ἐκ Ναυπάκτου*. See *Thucyd.* i. 103. I have little doubt that this Laphrian Artemis is the same as that of which Pausanias says elsewhere, in speaking of a statue at *Naupactus* (x. 38): *σχῆμα δὲ ἀκοντιζούσης παρέχεται καὶ ἐπικλήσιν εἰληφεν Αἰτωλή*. *The coins of Naupactus and of Patræ may here be consulted with advantage.* The question now arises: what grounds have we for identifying the *Menæchmus* of *Pliny* with the artist of the same name in *Pausanias*? Possibly none that will bear the test of a searching criticism. We must content ourselves with plausible conjectures in the absence of any available positive proof. First then, it will be observed, that the *Menæchmus* of *Pliny* was a writer on *Toreutics*, a term which, all are aware, included, or, rather perhaps, did not exclude, chryselephantine sculpture: chryselephantine, remember, was the Laphrian Artemis executed by *Messrs Menæchmus and Soidas*. I cannot say I attach much weight to this argument: still, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, weight it should certainly have. There is another point, however, to which I would invite the reader's attention, reminding him at the same time, that I put it forward with considerable diffidence, as it rests upon no higher author-

ity than my own. I have said that the “replicata cervix” of Pliny points at once to the so-called Mithraic remains. It is a pity that Pliny did not tell us the sex of the owner. I suspect the knee to have been the property of a female deity. I might here press into my service the well-known words of Herodotus: καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα· Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλίττα· Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν. But then it is not at all clear what or whom Herodotus meant by Μίτραν. Was there such a thing as a she Mithras, a Mithra? Wesseling in l. and Creuzer point to Ambrosius *contra Symmach.* II. p. 840. But this is reasoning in a circle. Ambrosius, I have no doubt, copied his statement from Herodotus*. It would be more to the purpose to turn to the *Yacna* or Zend liturgy, where the following phrase occurs: “nivaēd-hayēmi haūkāiryēmi *Ahuraēibya Mithraēibya*.” The words in italics are datives dual of *ahura* and *Mithra* respectively. As *ahura* probably comes from the Zend *ahū*, “lord” (with suffix *ra*), these words *may* mean: “I invoke and celebrate the two right noble Mithras.” See Burnouf in l. But Zend scholars (much less Zend dabblers like myself), do not appear to have made up their minds as to whether *Ahura* be not a separate deity. In this case the use of the dual form would only be an instance in Zend of that kind of copulative which in Sanscrit is known by the name of Dwandwa. See Bopp, *Krit. Gramm.* § 557, *Vergleich. Gramm.* § 214. The dual has here very much the same force as the sign + in Algebra. “Those two, Mithra, Ahura”—not: “the two Mithras and the two Ahuras.” At any rate this one passage can scarcely be set against the otherwise total absence of any allusion in the Zend-Avesta to the existence of a female Mithra. This absence is, I apprehend, conclusive against Creuzer’s interpretation of Μίτραν in the passage of Herodotus, as a female deity. I could almost think the text had been tampered with by some one who was perplexed—unnecessarily perplexed—at finding a male deity in juxtaposition with deities female. But such an hypothesis is a measure only to be resorted to in the last extremity. As to the analogy instituted by Herodotus between the Venus Urania, the Mylitta,

* Not so his spelling. It is noteworthy that he adopts the form *Mithram*. The only form, I may observe, of which the Zend language would admit. The

Mītrav of Herodotus does not necessarily imply a female deity: neither does the context.

and the Mithra, I can only beg my readers to believe that it is one which comparative archæology fully corroborates: aye! and philology too, I might add; for the Persian *mīhr*, (a contraction for *mīthra*) means: "Mithra," "love," and "sun." Just as in the autonomous coins of Dyrrachium, and in a temple at Acrocorinthus (see Pausanias) we find Aphrodite, Eros, Helios, conjoined. Said I not well, that archæology and philology should each support the other? I take this then as my starting point, viz. the identity of the Venus Urania—the primitive Venus Urania or Venus Mylitta—with the Mithras, and I thence infer, with M. Lajard of the Institute, that, whenever a female deity is represented in a Mithraic group, it is the Venus Urania or Mylitta, and not a Nikè (as I believe Gerhard and others contend), that the artist designed to represent.

I would now request the reader to turn again to the *Phocion* of Pausanias, where he will find that the passage already quoted from the 38th chapter of that book is immediately succeeded by the following words: Ἀφροδίτη δὲ ἔχει μὲν ἐν σπηλαίῳ τιμὰς. You must remember that of the Mithraic groups the σπηλαῖον, or grotto, is an essential feature; and further, that the districts adjoining Naupactus were traditionally tinged with Asiatic influences. From which I have myself no difficulty in concluding that the Aphrodite mentioned by Pausanias *in l. c.* is the Urania whose identity with Mithras Herodotus intimates and archæology confirms. You must also bear in mind that of Naupactus was the Menæchmus *apud Pausaniam* a native, and that Mithraic was the group executed by the Menæchmus *apud Plinium*. From which again I have still less difficulty in concluding that these two Menæchmi are one and indivisible.

I have said nothing about a third Menæchmus, the author of the *Σικωνιακά*, and of a book *περὶ τεχνιτῶν*, who lived under the first Ptolemy (Vossius, *Hist. Gr.* p. 102. Ed. Westermann), because I believe that the title of the latter work has nothing to do with what we call *artists*. I would here crave permission to remark, generally, that the language of the Greeks has no equivalent for artist. Defining *τεχνή* as they did to be *αὐτὸ σύνστημα ἐκ καταλήψεων ἐργασμάτων πρὸς τι τέλος εὐχρηστον τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ*, they made no distinction between the useful and the ornamental. Artist and artisan they placed on the same level; works of art, which we hoard up in museums, or use as wastepipes for a lordly rent-roll, were to the

Greek matters of every-day life, ministering draughts of beauty *ὥσπερ αἶθρα φέρονσα ἀπὸ χρηστῶν τόπων ὑγίαιαν*. And thus it is matter of trite notoriety, that, while the works of Pheidias are the grandest that sculpture ever produced, making men breathless as they gaze, the craft of Pheidias received from the Greek the humble epithet of *βαναύσος*. That exquisite little work of Lucian's, "The Dream," is full of instruction on this head, and will amply repay perusal. Young Lucian, on entering life, decides upon a *τέχνη τῶν βαναύσων*, and accordingly is apprenticed to his uncle a sculptor, from whom he receives a sound thrashing for breaking some marble *ὥστε δάκρυνά μοι τὰ προοίμια τῆς τέχνης*. This sound thrashing is followed by a sound sleep, the sleep by a vision. Two women, one of them Sculpture (*Τέχνη Ἑρμογλυφική*), the other Literature (*Παιδεία*), try in turn to make him, each, her votary. Technè, we are told, clipped the king's English—we beg pardon—the archon's Greek, *διαπταίονσα καὶ βαρβαρίζουσα παντόθεν*. Dame Literature reminds him (in reply to Technè's observation that he might one day be a Pheidias): "and even if you were to become a Pheidias or a Polycleitus, and were to execute ever so many a *chef-d'œuvre*, your skill indeed all will praise: but not one of the spectators, if he has any sense, would wish to be your fellow: for be you what you might, you would be set down as a *βάνανσος*, as a craftsman, and by the sweat of your brow you would be left to earn your bread." After making due allowances for exaggeration, more than enough remains to prove that the Greek language has no equivalent for *artist**. I have no doubt then that the work of this third Menæchmus was connected with the so-called *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται*, or theatrical performers (whether actors or musicians), mentioned by Aristotle, *Problem.* xxx. 10. Plutarch, *Quest. Rom.* Comp. Aul. Gell. xx. 4. The word *τεχνῖται*, by itself,

* The signification of the word *artist* is itself of comparatively modern growth. As it came to us from France, it is there we must look for its cradle. Not without grievous throes did it come to the birth—witness the struggle made in the reign of Louis XIV. against the institution of the Academies of Architecture and Painting. The original meaning of *artista* was "liberalium artium peritus;"—it was subsequently used in the sense of "magister in artibus;"—as late as

1539, Robert Stephen says nothing about the word *artist*, and under the heading "ouvrier" he places the Latin words "fabricator," "opifex," "operarius," "artifex." Cotgrave in 1611 translates "artiste" by "master of art." Even the first edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* looks unkindly upon the word, adding as it does: "Il est dit particulièrement de ceux qui font les opérations magiques."

is used in this sense in that passage of Demosthenes where he describes the famous episode at Olynthus. Also in Athenæus, xiv. 615. I see in the *Dictionary of Biog. and Myth.* (s. v. Menæchmus) a reference made on this subject to Meineke's *Hist. Crit. Comic.* p. 27. It will enable my readers to verify the statements here made independently. I should add that the extracts in Athenæus from this work by Menæchmus fully corroborate the meaning I have given to the title.

The position here taken up with reference to the Menæchmi of Pliny and Pausanias is, I am quite aware, anything but impregnable. I cannot expect to carry conviction to others, for conviction I do not feel myself. The utmost I contend for is, that in the absence of positive proof, or even of greater probability to the contrary, the identity of the two artists may fairly be assumed. This identity is the only question with which we are *directly* concerned. On the importance of the results *collaterally* arrived at during the discussion I am not the person, nor is this the place, to insist.

With many, indeed most, of the names which await us, little more than enumeration will suffice. Of Pamphilus (s. c. 370), for example, the Leonardo da Vinci—in *erudition* the Leonardo da Vinci—of antiquity, and the preceptor of Apelles, I am bound to presume that the readers of a classical journal know as much as or more than I can tell them. Only, those who use Sillig's admirable *Catalog. Artif.* will find no mention made of the passage in Suidas, s. v., with which we are now more immediately concerned. It seems to be generally allowed, that the works there enumerated, and bearing the titles *Εἰκόνας κατὰ στοιχείων*, and *Περὶ γραφικῆς καὶ ζωγράφων ἐνδόξων*, ought to be attributed to Pamphilus the artist, and not to the grammarian of the first century of our æra, of whom Suidas is there speaking. I do not, myself, feel altogether satisfied with this attribution. That Pamphilus the artist should have written the second of the works here named is not improbable: though Pliny does not quote Pamphilus among the lists of his authorities; albeit he there mentions several of his contemporaries and pupils. But as to the first work, the "Portraits in alphabetical order," that such a production should have come from the pen of Pamphilus at an age when portraiture was comparatively in its infancy, seems to be highly extraordinary. It is stated in Galen that a certain

Pamphilus wrote a book on plants : this book, it further appears, was in *alphabetical order*. Is it possible that the word *εἰκόνες* can be a corruption of manuscripts for some botanical term? *Judicent peritiores*.

The next name on our list is that of the famous Euphranor (b. c. 362). For the fact that to the practice of sculpture and of painting he added an exposition of the theory, we are indebted to Pliny, who says (xxxv. 11. 40), "Volumina quoque composuit de symmetria et coloribus." When we reflect on the *critical* position occupied by Euphranor in the history of Greek art, as a connecting link between the Idealism of Pheidias and the Naturalism of Lysippus, we can scarcely over-estimate the value of a treatise on art proceeding from such a quarter. This is especially the case with the first of the two works here assigned to Euphranor. The enquiries which of late years have been instituted by Mr D. R. Hay of Edinburgh, on the proportions of the human figure, and on the natural principles of beauty as illustrated by works of Greek Art, constitute an epoch in the study of æsthetics and the philosophy of Form, which testifies largely to the ingenuity, I had almost said the genius, of their author. Now in the presence of these enquiries, or of such less solid results as Mr Hay's predecessors in the same field have elicited, it naturally becomes an object of considerable interest to ascertain how far these laws of form and principles of beauty were consciously developed in the mind, and by the chisel, of the sculptor : how far any such system of curves and proportions as Mr Hay's was used by the Greek as a practical manual of his craft. Without in the least wishing to impugn the accuracy of that gentleman's results—a piece of presumption I should do well to avoid—I must be permitted to doubt whether the "Symmetria" of Euphranor contained anything analogous to them in kind, or indeed equal in value. It must not be forgotten that the truth of Mr Hay's theory is perfectly compatible with the fact, that of such theory the Greek may have been utterly ignorant. It is on this fact I insist : it is here that I join issue with Mr Hay, and with his Reviewer in a recent number of Blackwood's Magazine. Or, to speak more accurately :—while I am quite prepared to find that the Elgin marbles will best of all stand the test which Mr Hay has hitherto applied, I believe, to works of a later age, I am none the less convinced that it is precisely that golden age of

Hellenic art, to which they belong, precisely that first and chief of Hellenic artists by whom they were executed, to which and to whom any such line of research on the laws of form would have been pre-eminently alien. Pheidias, remember, by the right of primogeniture, is the ruling spirit of Idealism in art. Of spontaneity was that Idealism begotten and nurtured: by any such system as Mr Hay's, that spontaneity would be smothered and paralysed. Pheidias copied an Idea in his own mind—"ipsius in mente insidebat species pulchritudinis eximia quædam" (Cic.);—later ages copied *him*. He created: they criticised. He was the author of Iliads: they the authors of Poetics. Doubtless, if you unsphere the *spirit* of Mr Hay's theories, you will find nothing discordant with what I have here said. That is a sound view of Beauty which makes it consist in that due subordination of the parts to the whole, that due relation of the parts to each other, which Mendelssohn had in his mind when he said that the Essence of Beauty was "Unity in Variety"—Variety beguiling the Imagination, the perception of Unity exercising the thewes and sinews of the Intellect. On such a view of Beauty Mr Hay's theory may, *in spirit*, be said to rest. But here, as in higher things, it is the letter that killeth, while the spirit giveth life. And accordingly I must enter a protest against any endeavour to foist upon the palmy days of Hellenic art systems of geometrical proportions incompatible, as I believe, with those higher and broader principles by which the progress of ancient sculpture was ordered and governed:—systems which will bear nothing of that "Felicity and Chance by which"—and not by Rule—"Lord Bacon believed that a painter may make a better face than ever was:" systems which take no account of that fundamental distinction between the schools of Athens and of Argos, and their respective disciples and descendants, without which you will make nonsense of the pages of Pliny, and—what is worse—sense of the pages of his commentators:—systems in short, which may have their value as instruments for the education of the eye, and for instructions in the arts of design, but must be cast aside as matters of learned trifling and curious disputation, where they profess to be royal roads to art, and to map the mighty maze of a creative mind. And even as regards the application of such a system of proportions to those works of sculpture which are posterior to the Pheidian age, only partial can have been the prevalence which it

or any other one system can have obtained. The discrepancies of different artists in the treatment of what was called, technically called, *Symmetria* (as in the title of Euphranor's work) were, by the concurrent testimony of all ancient writers, far too salient and important to warrant the supposition of any uniform scale of proportions, as advocated by Mr Hay. Even in Egypt, where one might surely have expected that such uniformity would have been observed with far greater rigour than in Greece, the discoveries of Dr Lepsius (*Vorläufige Nachricht*. Berlin. 1849) have elicited three totally different *kanónes*, one of which is identical with the system of proportions of the human figure detailed in Diodorus. While we thus venture to differ from Mr Hay on the historical data he has mixed up with his enquiries, we feel bound to pay him a large and glad tribute of praise for having devised a system of proportions which rises superior to the idiosyncracies of different artists, which brings back to one common type the sensations of Eye and Ear, and so makes a giant stride towards that *codification*, if I may so speak, of the laws of the Universe which it is the business of the science to effect. I have no hesitation in saying, that, for scientific precision of method and importance of results, Albert Durer, Da Vinci and Hogarth, not to mention less noteworthy writers, must all yield the palm to Mr Hay.

I am quite aware that in the digression I have here allowed myself, on systems of proportions prevalent among ancient artists and on the probable contents of such treatises as that of Euphranor, *De Symmetria*, I have laid myself open to the charge of treating an intricate question in a very perfunctory way. At present the exigencies of the subject more immediately in hand allow me only to urge in reply, that, as regards the point at issue—I mean the “solidarité” between theories such as Mr Hay's and the practice of Pheidias—the *onus probandi* rests with my adversaries; for the rest, I can assure any one who ventures to face that responsibility, that he shall hear from me something to his disadvantage.

I have stated that the value of a professional treatise by such an artist as Euphranor could scarcely be over-estimated. The like will hold of Apelles, Melanthius, and Asclepiodorus; the two first, pupils of Pamphilus. What would we not give to be able as Pliny was, to turn to the works which these famous artists

wrote on painting. Surely when we meet with a statement in Pliny that staggers our incredulity (and of such there is no lack), we should carefully examine it in every conceivable respect before we pronounce it to be unsound, always remembering that, for ought we can tell, it may have been taken from the pages of an Apelles whose authority must in such matters, of course, be paramount. What I am anxious to impress upon the reader is that there existed, that Pliny had himself access to, valuable works on ancient art in which its processes were doubtless described, its history in some degree recorded—I want to fill him if I can with some adequate sense of the fulness and freshness of the art-literature of Hellas: a field so little cultivated in this country, that I felt myself justified (not without much hesitation), in prefixing to the enquiry I have undertaken, a map of the country through which our road lies. That these works were written, most of them, in the autumn not the spring-tide of Hellenic art, is nothing more than what we should *a priori* expect. Reasons herewith connected have already been incidentally advanced. Still, the bare fact of their existence is one to which we should tenaciously cling. It may help to untie many a knot in the history of Byzantine art,—a history, I should observe, which as yet wants an historian: it may serve to explain how a great body of tradition on the processes of art was handed down: and more especially may it vindicate to ancient painting the position she deserves to occupy, and of which she has been deprived, less by irresistible proof, than by irresistible damp. Art too has its apostolical succession.

On the principle that we do not light candles in mid-day, I may content myself with the bare enumeration of the three illustrious artists last-mentioned. So also in the case of Protogenes (Ol. CIV.), and Xenocrates (Ol. CXXVI.), the first of whom is scarcely less famous in the annals of ancient art, while the second gives us no handle for comment from his comparative obscurity. Pasiteles (B.C. 30), again, whose name the manuscripts of Pliny not unfrequently confound with Praxiteles, may likewise be dismissed with the statement that he wrote “quinque volumina nobilium operum in toto orbe.” Two names however remain on our list of artist-authors, which remind us of certain dangers Horace has attached to brevity—*obscurus fio*. Harpocration (*s. v. Πολύγνωτος*) refers to a certain Ἀρτίμων ἐν τῇ περὶ ζωγράφου

φωρ. Among the literary Artemons, I cannot find any to whom I should be inclined to attribute this work. I therefore turn to Pliny, where I find the following statement respecting a painter of the same name, from which we must endeavour to elicit his date. "Artemon Danaen, mirantibus eam prædonibus; reginam Stratonicen; Herculem ab Ceta monte Doridos exuta mortalitate, consensu Deorum in cælum euntem; Laomedontis circa Herculem et Neptunum memoriam." (xxxv. 11. 40). With regard to the first picture, I should be inclined to the reading of the Dalecamp codex [K], which substitutes *piscatoribus* for *prædonibus*: for I have no doubt that the moment depicted was the arrival of the castaway daughter of Acrisius on the island of Seriphus. Strabo's version of the story is that the *λαπράξ* containing her and her child Perseus was there fished ashore by Dictys. I cannot find out from the fragments of the *Dictys* of Euripides, whether the poet made the brother of Polydectes a fisherman or not. At any rate, his name is decidedly piscatorial; which circumstance, combined with Strabo's express testimony, removes, from my mind at least, all hesitation about the substitution proposed. Nor is this all. Among the *κειμήλια* of the Museo Campana at Rome is a vase, of the so-called "early Doric" style, one side of which represents the golden shower affair, while on the other we find the very scene here spoken of by Pliny. What if the vase-painter had seen Artemon's picture? nay more: what if he had actually copied it? That vase-paintings often are reduced copies of larger studies by more famous artists, is an opinion pretty generally held in the archæological world. In the present case, however, I do not pretend to do more than throw out the conjecture. Our chief, indeed our only clue to the date of this Artemon, is to be gathered from the painting next mentioned, the portrait of Queen Stratonice. Stratonices there were many: but of these the most famous was the daughter of Demetrius and Phila, whom her husband Seleucus surrendered to gratify the love of his own son, who à la *Don Carlos* was passionately enamoured of his step-mother. This would place Artemon about B.C. 280. With regard to the paintings mentioned by Pliny as deposited in the "Octaviæ Opera"—a term, all are aware, of some latitude—I may as well mention that as in the Danae picture, so likewise in the apotheosis of Hercules, a vase has come down to us (Gerhard. *Ant. Bildw.* i. 31), which answers exactly

to the description in the text. Again I ask, was this a copy of Artemon's picture? I should imagine that in the "Laomedontis memoriam" Pliny must have lumped together two paintings; unless indeed, as in some rare cases that might be mentioned, two kindred legends were placed in juxtaposition.

I now come to the last name on the list of artist authors, viz. Antigonus. I shall begin by quoting all the passages in Pliny where he is spoken of. That he was one of Pliny's authorities appears *in limine* from the Indd. to Books xxxiii. and xxxiv. where we find: "Antigonus, qui de Toreutice." Then in xxxv. 19. § 84, we read: "Plures artifices fecere Attali et Eumenis adversus Gallos praelia, Isigonus, Pyromachus, Stratonicus, *Antigonus qui volumina condidit de sua arte*:" and lastly, in xxxv. 10. 68, it is stated of Parrhasius: "Hanc ei gloriam concessere Antigonus et Xenocrates qui de pictura scripsere, et seqq." I am not prepared to maintain that this Antigonus who wrote on painting, and who is also referred to by Diogenes Laertius, *Vit. Chrysipp.* is the same as the writer on Toreutics already mentioned. The same I have no doubt he is as the Antigonus named in the title of a work by Polemon (of whom more anon): for it is along with Polemon that Diogenes introduces him. This however is a point of no material importance. My chief concern at present is with the passage in Pliny commencing "Plures artifices." And first I would observe that, from the extreme vagueness of Pliny's language, we are not justified in pressing the question of the material of which the groups made by these "artists many" of the school of Pergamus may have consisted. If we should find occasion to assign to one or other of these artists any marble group or statue now extant in the museums of Europe, we must not be deterred by the consideration that with works of brass Pliny is in this part of the 35th book more especially engaged. Not to beat about the bush any longer, I put the question:—what if Antigonus be the author, not merely of a book on Toreutics, but of the more famous and better known statue, which does *not* represent a dying gladiator? That a Kelt is here portrayed, no one can for a moment doubt who stands before the statue, and carefully compares it with the accounts, in Diodorus and Pausanias, of the distinguishing characteristics of those whom the Greeks called *Galatæ*. French archæology is too often a kind of *Hotel des Invalides* for ex-

ploded statements and crippled truths. I am therefore the less surprised at Clarac retaining, in his *Musée de Sculpture*, the old designation without so much as an allusion to the insuperable objections by which it has been met. "Il porte autour du cou une corde qui le fait reconnoître pour un gladiateur" (Clarac l. c.). "He wears a white neckcloth, which shews he is a clergyman," would be about equivalent logic, though anything but equivalent English. What Clarac calls a "corde" is of course the Keltic *torques*. In the Museo Campana is to be seen a gold *torques* (compare Liv. XLIV. 14. "*Torques aureus*") which was found in the South of France. Similar but less costly specimens have been shewn to me in the Louvre, unless my memory plays me a trick. I feel however that I am fighting with a shadow in contesting the old designation, dear, it may be, to admirers of Childe Harold, but destitute of any weightier claim to our homage. I start with the fact of the statue being a dying Gaul, and then I am irresistibly driven to the conclusion, that it formed one of the works to which Pliny refers. I am myself very strongly of opinion, that it must have formed the corner figure of a pedimental group. I should add that it cannot be properly understood without comparing it with the so-called Arria and Pætus group, the real subject of which is a Gaul putting an end to self and wife. The actual battle more especially alluded to by Pliny is probably that in which Attalus routed the Gauls B. C. 239. But when we remember—I fancy I owe the remark to Welcker, but I cannot quote chapter and verse—how rarely the record of historical battles was entrusted to the keeping of sculpture, which always preferred a kind of *reflective, anticipatory* allusion from kindred *mythical* sources, I think it may be doubted whether the artists did not rather select an earlier engagement (B. C. 279), that at Delphi, which Propertius saw portrayed on one of the *valvæ* of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine;—an engagement, this, with which tradition had connected so many supernatural events (see Pausanias), that it might easily be as the mythical shadow, cast before by the coming event of History proper. But, waiving the discussion of this and many other points so pregnant with interest that I am loathe to give them the go-bye, I must content myself with observing, that, whether the conjecture as to the connection between Antigonus and the statue of the dying Gaul be correct or not, the identity of the artist of the school

of Pergamus, and the author whom Pliny had by him, is a question not of conjecture but of fact:—fact too, the importance of which is great indeed, when we remember that it is the school of Pergamus which furnished the key-note and the starting point, from which the sculpture of the so-called Roman æra took its tone and its rise: and I cannot feel that any apology is necessary for having arrested the attention of Pliny's readers on a name, which they might otherwise have passed over in silence, as too insignificant to deserve, or too obscure to repay enquiry. Well has Quintilian said: "in studiis nihil parvum."

I am fully prepared to expect that my readers—always supposing I have any readers—will lavish their censures on the foregoing pages in no scanty measure. Rambling, uncritical, inconclusive, such are the epithets I hear by anticipation. I plead guilty to all the counts of the indictment, but I am sure the verdict will be accompanied by a recommendation to mercy. For I would urge in my defence that although the conjectures here advanced may seem somewhat crazy and rickety when taken by themselves, they will be found to bear a totally different aspect, when they are fitted each of them into their proper place in the history of art taken as a whole*.

C. K. WATSON.

[*To be continued.*]

VII.

On a point in the Doctrine of the ancient Atomists.

IN a paper on Lucretius in the first number of this Journal I discussed at some length a passage (l. 529—634) which had suffered grievously from the uncalled for alterations of all the editors, and I endeavoured to show its connexion with and its bearing upon the rest of Lucretius' Atomic Theory. There can I think be no reasonable doubt of the poet's meaning. He wished at one and the same time to maintain in its integrity that cardinal point in the Epicurean physics that matter consisted of atoms impenetrable and indestructible, yet possessed of shape, extension and weight, and to obviate the apparent

* See Note, p. 264.

logical absurdity of supposing particles so endowed to be incapable of further subdivision. He affirms therefore that his atoms have parts, but that these parts are *minima*, the *ελάχιστα* of Epicurus, so small as to be incapable of existing alone and for that reason necessarily existing in the atom from all eternity in unchangeable juxta-position: an argument which confirms rather than invalidates the proof that his atoms are "of solid singleness."

That Epicurus held the same doctrine may be satisfactorily shown. In page 30 of the Journal an obscure passage, bearing on the question, was quoted from his letter to Herodotus (Diog. Laert. x. 58); and in the list of his principal writings given by Diogenes (x. 28) we find one with the title *περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀτόμῳ γωνίας*, which treated doubtless of the parts of an atom and of the *cacumen* of Lucretius. The Pseudo-Plutarch too (de plac. phil. i. 877 F) says, *καὶ εἴρηται ἄτομος, οὐχ ὅτι ἐστὶν εἰλαχίστη, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ δύναται τμηθῆναι κ. τ. λ.* thus distinctly pronouncing the atom not to be an *ελάχιστον*. But this might have been more clearly proved not only of Epicurus, but also of his predecessors Democritus and Leucippus, from Aristotle and his commentators, had not the editors of Lucretius chosen to neglect these for the eloquent commonplaces of Cicero and Seneca, whose purpose it would not have answered to dwell on points so obscure as the one in question.

There is no ancient author extant who has preserved more notices and fragments of lost writers than Simplicius. As Aristotle in his Physics and Metaphysics is constantly impugning the notion of a limit to the divisibility of things, and consequently the doctrines of Leucippus and Democritus, Simplicius takes frequent occasion to quote not only their opinions but also those of Epicurus. In a noticeable passage of his commentary to the Physics (p. 216 a. Ed. Ald. 6 lines fr. bot.) he distinctly attributes to Epicurus the theory in question, but denies it of Leucippus and Democritus. *Λεύκιππος μὲν καὶ Δημοκρίτος*, he says, *οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀπάθειαν αἰτίαν τοῖς πρώτοις σώμασι τοῦ μὴ διαρεῖσθαι νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ συμκρὸν καὶ ἀμερές. Ἐπίκουρος δὲ ὕστερον ἀμερῇ μὲν οὐχ ἡγεῖται, ἄτομα δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τὴν ἀπάθειαν εἶναι φησι. καὶ πολλαχού μὲν τὴν Δημοκρίτου δόξαν καὶ Λευκίππου ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης διήλεγξεν, καὶ δι' ἐκείνους ἴσως τοὺς ἐλέγχους πρὸς τὸ ἀμερές ἐνισταμένους ὁ Ἐπίκουρος ὕστερον γενόμενος, συμπαθὼν δὲ τῇ Δημοκρίτου καὶ Λευκίππου δόξῃ περὶ τῶν πρώτων*

σωμάτων, ἀπαθὴ μὲν ἐφύλαξεν αὐτά, τὸ δὲ ἀμερές αὐτῶν παρείλετο, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ἐλεγχόμενων. Notwithstanding the precision and minuteness of this account, in another part of the same commentary (p. 18 a. l. 15), strange to say, he asserts that the atoms of Democritus have parts and extension, but are indestructible on account of their perfect solidity and fulness; the very doctrine of Epicurus and Lucretius. ἐπεὶ τὸ ἀδιαίρετον πολλὰ χῶς, he says, οἷον τὸ μήπω διηρημένον οἷόν τε δὲ διαιρεθῆναι... ἢ τὸ μῶρια μὲν ἔχον καὶ μέγεθος, ἀπαθὴς δὲ ὅν διὰ στερεότητα καὶ ναστότητα, καθάπερ ἐκάστη τῶν Δημοκρίτου ἀτόμων. Here too he employs Democritus' own word ναστότης. What are we to believe then? Indeed my perplexity was increased on meeting with another passage in his commentary to the *de Caelo* (p. 56 b. l. 16. Ed. Ald.), in which he appears to deny parts not only to the atoms of Democritus, but also to those of Epicurus. οἱ περὶ Δημοκρίτον, he says, καὶ Λεύκιππον οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγνημένοι καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἐπίκουρος... ἔλεγον τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπείρους εἶναι τῷ πλήθει, ἃ τίνα καὶ ἀτόμους καὶ ἀδιαίρετα ᾤοντο καὶ ἀπαθὴ διὰ τὸ στερεὰ καὶ ἀμερῆ εἶναι κ.τ.λ. But the Aldine edition of the commentary on the *de Caelo* is, as is well known, a spurious version; and luckily the corresponding passage of the true text is printed in Brandis' extracts (p. 484 a. 23), ὡς οἱ περὶ Λεύκιππον καὶ Δημοκρίτον ὑπετίθεντο πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγονότες καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἐπίκουρος. οὗτοι γὰρ ἔλεγον ἀπείρους εἶναι τῷ πλήθει τὰς ἀρχάς, ὡς καὶ ἀτόμους καὶ ἀδιαίρετους ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἀπαθείς διὰ τὸ ναστὰς εἶναι καὶ ἀμόρους τοῦ κενοῦ. Here the word ἀμερῆ fortunately does not appear at all, and Simplicius is saved from the charge of contradicting himself in regard to Epicurus. As to Democritus, I can only conjecture that the ambiguity of some of his expressions on so obscure a point deceived Simplicius, just as Lucretius has misled his commentators, and that Democritus in reality held the same opinion as Epicurus; for a still higher authority than Simplicius, Alexander of Aphrodisias, the commentator *par excellence*, in his treatise on the Metaphysics (p. 27. 20 Ed. Bonitz) most distinctly attributes to Leucippus and Democritus the precise doctrine of Lucretius. λέγει μὲν, he says, περὶ Λευκίππου τε καὶ Δημοκρίτου οὗτοι γὰρ... οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ πόθεν ἢ βαρύτης ἐν ταῖς ἀτόμοις λέγουσιν· τὰ γὰρ ἀμερῆ τὰ ἐπινοούμενα ταῖς ἀτόμοις καὶ μέρη ὄντα αὐτῶν ἀβαρῆ φασὶν εἶναι· ἐκ δὲ ἀβαρῶν συγκειμένων πῶς ἂν βάρος γένηται*;

* This passage, compared with Arist. Theophr. *d. Sens. et Sensil.* § 63, will *d. Gen. et Corr.* I. 8, p. 326 a. 9, and surely prove that Democritus, as might

"They do not explain," he says, "whence their atoms have weight; for they assert that those *minima* without parts which are conceived to belong to their atoms and to be their parts are without weight. But how can weight be produced from a union of things without weight?" The very difficulty which Lucretius from the necessity of the case leaves unsolved.

But Leucippus and Democritus were not, I believe, the first expounders of such niceties in the Atomic theory. The admiration of the latter for Pythagoras is well attested. Diogenes Laertius (ix. 45) tells us that Thrasyllus arranged the works of Democritus in tetralogies, like those of Plato. For the ancients appear to have had as high an admiration for him, as Bacon has expressed in his writings; and to have thought that his sagacity as a thinker and his elegance as a writer entitled him to take rank by the side of Plato and Aristotle; although Schleiermacher and Ritter are pleased to strike his name off the list of true philosophers and to assign him a place in their numerous class of Sophists. His treatise Πυθαγόρης ἡ περὶ τῆς τοῦ σοφοῦ διαθέσις comes first in the first of these tetralogies; and Diogenes (ix. 38) has these words: δοκεῖ δὲ (Δημόκριτος), φησὶν ὁ Θρασύλλος, ζηλωτῆς γεγονέναι καὶ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου μέμνηται, θαυμάζων αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ὁμωνύμῃ συγγράμματι. πάντα δὲ δοκεῖ παρὰ τούτου λαβεῖν καὶ αὐτοῦ δ' ἂν ἀκροέσθαι, εἰ μὴ τὰ τῶν χρόνων ἐμάχετο. πάντως μέντοι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν τινὸς ἀκοῦσαί φησιν αὐτὸν Γλαῦκος ὁ Ῥηγίος, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους αὐτῷ γεγονώς. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Φιλολάφ αὐτὸν συγγεγονέναι. Now Thrasyllus must have had good means of judging of the connexion between Democritus and the Pythagoreans. But what was this bond of connexion? Democritus perceived the philosophical necessity there was of supposing some unchangeable and indestructible substratum to lie at the bottom of all phenomena: hence his atomic theory; while Pythagoras long before him appears to have been the first Greek thinker who saw the insufficiency of the theories of the earlier Ionic philosophers which derived all things from one or other variable element, and sought to supply their defects by his mysterious doctrine of numbers. We derive our most trustworthy information

have been presumed, assigned weight to his atoms, and will outbalance the statements of Stobæus quoted by Mullach (*Dem.* p. 381), and of the Pseudo-Plu-

tarch quoted by Brucker, (i. p. 1189). The doubt probably arose from not attending to the distinction between atoms and their parts.

on this subject from Aristotle and his followers, owing to the relentless warfare which they wage against the theory in question; and there are abundant passages in their writings to prove that they saw a close analogy between it and the doctrines of Democritus, blaming both in terms almost identical for seeking to derive weight and extension from an immaterial element. I will cite only a few of the most striking of these. Aristotle (*Metaph.* M. (XIII.) 6. p. 1080 b. 16) has these words: *καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι δ' ἓνα (ἀριθμόν), τὸν μαθηματικόν, πλὴν οὐ κεχωρισμένον ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτου τὰς αἰσθητὰς οὐσίας συνεστάναι φασίν· τὸν γὰρ ὅλον οὐρανὸν κατασκευάζουσιν ἐξ ἀριθμῶν, πλὴν οὐ μοναδικῶν* (i. e. abstract arithmetical number), *ἀλλὰ τὰς μονάδας ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἔχειν μέγεθος· ὅπως δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν συνέσει ἔχον μέγεθος, ἀπορεῖν εἰκόσασιν.* And line 30, *μοναδικούς δὲ τοὺς ἀριθμούς εἶναι πάντες τιθέασιν, πλὴν τῶν Πυθαγορείων, ὅσοι τὸ ἐν στοιχείῳ καὶ ἀρχὴν φασιν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων· ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἔχοντας μέγεθος, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον.* Upon which Alexander, or the Pseudo-Alexander, (p. 723. 1) thus comments: *καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι δὲ ἓνα ἀριθμὸν εἶναι νομίζουσι, καὶ τίνα τούτου; τὸν μαθηματικόν, πλὴν οὐ κεχωρισμένον τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ὥς οἱ περὶ Περικράτην, οὐδὲ μοναδικόν, τουτέστιν ἀμερὴ καὶ ἀσώματον, (μοναδικὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀμερὲς καὶ ἀσώματον ἐνταῦθα δηλοῖ,) ἀλλὰ τὰς μονάδας καὶ δηλονότι καὶ τοὺς ἀριθμούς ὑπολαμβάνοντες οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι μέγεθος ἔχειν ἐκ τούτων τὰς αἰσθητὰς οὐσίας καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα οὐρανὸν εἶναι λέγουσιν,* with much more to the same effect. Bonitz in his commentary (p. 545), and Zeller (*Phil. d. Gr.* i. p. 100) say that this notion of the monads having magnitude does not come from the Pythagoreans, but is an inference of Aristotle's own. But he had surely better means of judging of this, than they can have; and even supposing them to be right, Democritus may well have looked upon the matter in the same point of view as Aristotle. But in another part of the same book of his *Metaphysics* (ch. 8. p. 1083 b. 11) Aristotle brings this theory into closer connexion with the atomic: *τὸ τὰ σώματα*, he says, *ἐξ ἀριθμῶν εἶναι συγκείμενα καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτου εἶναι μαθηματικὸν ἀδύνατον ἐστίν. οὔτε γὰρ ἄτομα μεγέθη λέγειν ἀληθές· εἴθ' ὅτι μάλιστα τούτου ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, οὐχ αἷ γε μονάδες μέγεθος ἔχουσιν· μέγεθος δ' ἐξ ἀδιαίρετων συγκείσθαι πῶς δυνατόν;* On which Alexander (p. 745. 4) remarks: *ἀλλὰ τὸ λέγειν ἄτομα μεγέθη ψεῦδος· πολλὰς γὰρ εὐθύνας δέδωκεν ἢ τὰ ἄτομα μεγέθη εἰσάγουσα δόξα,*—yes, from its Peripatetic persecutors. In two other passages, (*de Cæl.* III. 1. p. 300 a. 17) *τὰ μὲν φυσικὰ σώματα φαίνεται βάρους ἔχοντα καὶ κορυφότητα, τὰς δὲ μονάδας οὔτε σῶμα*

οἷόν τε συντιθεμέναις οὔτε βάρος ἔχειν, and (*Metaph.* N. 3. p. 101 a. 32) κατὰ μέντοι τὸ ποιεῖν ἐξ ἀριθμῶν τὰ φυσικὰ σώματα, ἐκ μὴ τῶν βάρος μηδὲ κουφότητα ἔχοντα κουφότητα καὶ βάρος, γὰρ (οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι) περὶ ἄλλου οὐρανοῦ λέγειν καὶ σωμάτων ἀλλ' οὐκ ἰσθητῶν, Aristotle attacks the Pythagoreans in almost the same terms with which Alexander in a passage quoted above had rebuked Democritus for assigning no weight to the parts of his system which are themselves possessed of weight.

Now it is all very well for Aristotle and his satellites to prove the absurdity of producing extension from the unextended, weight from the imponderable, matter from the immaterial; but what is their own *πρώτη ὕλη*?

It can only escape similar confutation by eluding from its incomprehensibility the power of the logician. The question seems to be as undecided in the present time as in the days of Pythagoras and Democritus, if it has ever been decided, to have been determined rather in favour of them than of their adversaries*.

As subsidiary to the above remarks and to the corresponding part of my paper on Lucretius, I will here expose a note of Hermann's in support of his unjustifiable alterations in the text of Lucretius l. 628 and 631, lest any one should be incautiously led into error by it. "Vere Lambinus," he says, "*NI minimas et multis sunt partibus aucta. in ll. 498 = Ne quædam (semina) cogas inmani maximitate Esse, supra quod jam docui non esse probari. scilicet his ipsis versibus neque alibi.*" What! the notion that nature divides all things into the smallest parts conceivable is a proof that some of these must be *inmani maximitate*! This note is a striking instance of that strange weakness and

"To Boscovich appears to belong the credit of having perceived that if the atoms were conceived of simply as undetermined centres of force, the primary qualities of bodies might sufficiently be accounted for without supposing them to result from the primary qualities of constituent atoms—a mode of extension of which, though there has been something like a return to it in recent speculations, it may be observed that it explains nothing. Boscovich's theory seems to have been so

completely in accordance with the direction in which mathematical physics have of late been moving, that it was adopted as it were unconsciously—almost all modern investigations on subjects connected with molecular action are in effect based on his views, though his name is, comparatively speaking, but seldom mentioned—and this theory... is in truth the highest developement which the mathematical theory of matter has as yet received." *Cambridge Phil. Trans.* Vol. VIII. p. 604.

confusion of thought which, with all his gigantic force as a verbal critic, he too often displays when the sense, and not the language, of his author is in question. If the passage when thus deprived of all meaning could prove anything, it would tend to prove the very contrary. Lucretius really does allude to l. 615—622, *Præterea nisi erit minimum, parvissima quæque Corpora constabunt ex partibus infinitis . . . Ergo rerum inter summam minimamque quid escit? Nil erit ut distet, &c.* And this passage will indirectly prove his point, *granting* the false assumption, an assumption common apparently to all ancient reasoners, that if any two things consist of an infinite number of parts these two things will be equal*; a paralogism which misled Bentley†, and which Newton in the second of his memorable letters to him thus clearly exposes: "I conceive the paralogism lies in the position that all infinites are equal. The generality of mankind consider infinites no other ways than indefinitely; and in this sense they say all infinites are equal; though they would speak more truly if they should say, they are neither equal nor unequal nor have any certain difference or proportion one to another. In this sense therefore no conclusions can be drawn from them about the equality, proportions or differences of things; and they that attempt to do it usually fall into paralogisms. So when men argue against the infinite divisibility of magnitude by saying that if an inch may be divided into an infinite number of parts, the sum of those parts will be an inch; and if a foot may be divided into an infinite number of parts, the sum of those parts must be a foot; and therefore since all infinites are equal, those sums must be equal, that is, an inch equal to a foot; the falseness of the conclusion shows an error in the premisses: and the error lies in the position that all infinites are equal. . . . A mathematician would tell you that though there be an infinite number of infinite little parts in an inch, yet there is twelve times that number of such parts in a foot; that is, the infinite number of those parts in a foot is not equal to, but twelve times bigger than the infinite number of them in an inch." H. M.

* Thus, according to Kanadi, the Indian atomist, (see Daubeny's *Atomic Theory*, p. 8) there would in the case supposed be no difference of magnitude between a mustard-seed and a mountain, a gnat and an elephant, each alike con-

taining an infinity of particles.

† Compare the elaborate but inconclusive argument which he grounds on this assumption in the 3rd and 6th of his Boyle Lectures.

Note to Article V. of No. I.

To the Editor of the Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology.

SIR,

I HAVE read with much pleasure Mr Hardwick's interesting paper in your first number entitled "Notes on the Study of the Bible among our Forefathers;" and as an Irishman I feel particularly grateful to him for having directed attention to the too long neglected records of the Irish Church.

In the following remarks upon Mr Hardwick's paper my object is simply "*alere flammam*;" and I make no apology to him for venturing to express on some few points a difference of opinion.

He has remarked that the narratives which have come down to us of the life and character of St Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, agree in one particular, namely, in representing him as having been a diligent student of Biblical knowledge.

For this he quotes first a passage from the ancient Life of St Patrick, (an evident translation from an Irish original) which Colgan has placed second in his collection, believing it to be the work of a contemporary or disciple of St Patrick. This biographer states that St Patrick spent a considerable time with St German, bishop of Auxerre, "like Paul at the feet of Gamaliel," and learned from him the knowledge of wisdom and of the holy Scriptures, "*sapientiæ studium, et Scripturarum notitiam sanctarum, ferventi animo didicit.*"

The same statement is made by Jocelin, in his Life of St Patrick, (Vit. 6ta ap. Colgan.) c. 22, who uses the phrase "*legens et adimplens scripturas*," and refers to the "*Gesta beati S. Germani*," which Colgan supposes to be the Life of St German written by Heric or Eric of Auxerre, an author of the 9th century, whose words are "*non mediocrem e tanti vena fontis in Scripturis celestibus hausit eruditionem**."

And lastly, Mr Hardwick quotes the writer called Nennius, who speaking of St Patrick tells us, that after his return from captivity "*nutu Dei eruditus est in sacris literis*:" and that subsequently, having gone to Rome, he remained there for a long time "*ad legendum scrutandaque mysteria Dei, sanctasque percurrit scripturas.*"

All these testimonies go to prove that the writers quoted intended to represent St Patrick as one who had received a regular ecclesiastical education, and who had studied, in the best schools, all that was necessary for the formation of an accomplished divine. But I do not think they prove, what Mr Hardwick adduces them to prove, a diligent pursuit of *biblical* knowledge; for this obvious reason, that the phrases *sacred scriptures*, *celestial scriptures*, *sacred letters*, used by these writers, did not signify with them, what the same words would now signify with us, the biblical, or canonical scriptures of the Old and New Testament. By the *sacred scriptures* a writer of that age meant principally the

* See this Life of St German, Bolland. Actt. SS. ad 31 Julii, p. 259.

writings of the fathers, the canons of the councils, &c., although perhaps not necessarily excluding the Old and New Testament. Still if they had intended to say that St Patrick was remarkable for a diligent study of Biblical learning, in our sense of the word, they would probably have used the word *Bibliotheca*, or they would have said more fully, the prophetic, evangelical, and apostolical writings, or at least they would have qualified the word *Scriptures*, by the epithet *Canonical*.

To prove this it will be necessary to say a few words on the manner in which other Irish writers about St Patrick, have spoken of his studies in sacred learning. The oldest of all, St Fiech, bishop of Sletty, in his metrical life of St Patrick, written in the antient Irish language, thus speaks:

Do fáidh tar Ealpa uile
De muir—ba hamra reatha,—
Conidh fargaibh la German,
An deas an deisciort Leatha.
A ninnsibh mara Toirrian
Ainís indibh,—ad ríme;
Léghais cánoín la German,
Is eadh ad fiadhad líne.

He travelled beyond all Alps*
Across the sea—(prosperous was
the journey.)
He sojourned with German
In the southern part of Armorica†.
In the islands of the Tyrrhene sea
He dwelt—as I record—
He read the Canons with German,
As histories relate.

Here it will be observed that what St Fiech, writing in Irish, describes as *the Canons* is translated by the subsequent biographers of St Patrick, in their Latinity, *sacras scripturas* and *coelestes scripturas*. And it is remarkable that the passage of Nennius, quoted by Mr Hardwick, in which that writer tells us of Patrick's having read through the *sanctas scripturas*, is translated in the Irish Version of the *Historia Britonum*, "do cuaid d'foglaim bo deas, co ro léig in canoin la German." "He went to the South to study, and he read *the Canons* with German‡."

So also the ancient notes on St Fiech's metrical life, published by Colgan under the title of *Scholia Veteris Scholiastæ*, which he supposes

* This word in so ancient an Irish writer does not necessarily mean the range of mountains now called the Alps, it seems rather intended to describe the distance of St Patrick's travels "beyond all alps (or lofty mountains) across the sea."

† Colgan, following the authority of the ancient scholiast, translates this word *Latium*; but it seems much more probable that it was used in its original meaning to denote Armorica, "the southern part of Armorica," or "south of the southern part of Armorica," as the words seem literally to mean, being apparently a description of the geogra-

phical position of Auxerre. See Irish version of Nennius, Addit. Notes, No. XI. p. xix. See also Du Cange, Glossar. v. *Leti*.

‡ Irish version of Nennius (published for the Irish Archæol. Society,) p. 106. We may remark here that the Irish Version makes no mention of Rome, whilst the Latin Nennius makes no mention of German, in this account of St Patrick's studies. By the passage of St Fiech's poetical life, above quoted, it appears certain, that by the South, in the Irish Nennius, is meant Armorica, the supposed residence of St German.

have been written before the end of the 6th century, record the subjects of St Patrick's studies thus: "Postquam Patricius didicerit sacros canones, omnesque ecclesiasticas disciplinas apud Germanum, retulit germano &c." (Colgan, p. 5, col. 1.)

You will not, I hope, from these remarks conclude that I wish to impugn Mr Hardwick's conclusion, or to deny that our forefathers were diligent students of the Bible, and well acquainted with its letter and spirit. All I would say is, that the phrase *sacred* or *holy Scriptures*, in the mouth of a writer of the 9th or 10th century, did not mean exclusively the Bible; in fact, it seems to have been sometimes used in contradistinction to the canonical Scriptures, of which I cannot give you a better instance, than that quoted by Du Cange, from the life of St Olbert, abbot of Gemblours* (ob. 1048), where we read that St Olbert provided for his monks a library, for the purpose of improving their minds by frequent meditation upon the Scriptures (frequenti Scripturarum meditatione), where it is evident that the word *Scriptures* has a more general meaning than it would now have, in our modern use of it, because this writer goes on to tell us that the abbot not only transcribed in his library a volume containing the whole history of the Old and New Testament, but also collected more than an hundred volumes of *Divine Scripture*, with fifty volumes of secular learning—"plenariam vetus et novum Testamentum continentem in uno volumine transcripsit historiam, et divinæ quidem Scripturæ plusquam centum congessit volumina, sæcularis vero disciplinæ libros quinquaginta."

The Book of Armagh, alluded to by Mr Hardwick (p. 84), is now the property of the Rev. Wm. Reeves, D.D., of Ballymena, from whose learning and zeal for Irish ecclesiastical history, we may hope to have before long a more satisfactory account of its contents than has as yet been published. For this reason I say no more at present upon the subject, except to warn Mr Hardwick that Sir Wm. Betham's work, which he quotes (*The Irish Antiquarian Researches*), is not to be implicitly followed, without accurate verification of the author's statements.

One of the most remarkable evidences in proof of Mr Hardwick's views which can be presented to the mind, is the fact, that so many MSS. of the Scriptures in Irish characters, of a date prior to the 9th century, still exist. When we consider the frightful destruction of life and property, the burning of towns, monasteries, and houses, which was the rule, and not the exception in Ireland, for so many centuries, the fact that 20 or 30 manuscripts of portions of the Bible (chiefly Gospels or Psalms) still exist, which were undoubtedly written in Ireland, is a remarkable proof that the ancient Irish saints were singularly diligent in the pursuit of Biblical knowledge.

JAS. H. TODD.

TRIN. COLL. DUBLIN,
March 17, 1854.

* Mabillon. Act. SS. Bened. sec. vi. (tom. 8.) p. 531, ed. Vend.

P.S. It may be well to add that the celebrated reliquary called the *Caah*, containing a Psalter supposed to have been written by St Columba (although I think it is about 200 years later than his time) is now preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin; although it is still the property of Sir Rich. O'Donnell, Bart. The word *Caah*, properly written *Cathach* from *Cath*, a battle, signifies victorious, or victory-giving; the reliquary obtained this name from its being carried into battle by the tribe to which it belonged, under the idea that it would ensure them victory. There are two MSS. (Gospels) in the Library of Trin. Coll. Dublin, which are believed on good grounds to be the autograph of St Columba, viz. the Book of Kells, and the Book of Durrow. There is another copy of the Gospels, in the same repository, formerly belonging to the see of Killaloe, written by a scribe named Dimma, who died A.D. 620, and a fourth, in the handwriting of St Moling, bishop of Ferns, who died at the close of the same century.

I ought also to remark here that the Book of Armagh contains a complete copy of the New Testament, in an ante-Hieronymian version, and not in the version of St Jerome, as Mr Hardwick states.

[It will be a source of genuine pleasure to all students of the Sacred Text, if Dr Todd, or some other competent scholar, can be prevailed upon to undertake a critical edition of the New Testament in the Hiberno-Latin version. Many readers of the *Journal of Philology* would, I am sure, become subscribers to the work. For my own part I was quite prepared to learn from Dr Todd that the version handed down in the *Book of Armagh* is pre-Hieronymic. Betham, however, stated the contrary, and as he was my sole authority, I felt of course obliged to defer. The rectifications of Dr Todd on this and other points I beg to acknowledge with many thanks. There is only one subject where I cannot altogether follow him, viz. as to the common meaning of phrases like *sancta Scriptura*, *caelestes Scriptura*, *Divina Scriptura*, etc., in the 9th and 10th centuries. The difference is not indeed so wide as may at first sight appear. Dr Todd allows, I think, with some hesitation, that if we understand those phrases as equivalent to 'sacred literature in general,' they do not necessarily *exclude* the Bible; in other words, that great proficiency in Biblical studies *may* have been affirmed of the Apostle of Ireland as well as of the later Irish scholars, respecting whom less equivocal expressions are employed. So far, then, my chief position is conceded, for I did not argue that the Bible was the *only* book, but one of the most prominent, in the libraries of early saints.

Dr Todd, has, it is true, adduced one passage where a distinction appears to be drawn between the Bible and 'Divina Scriptura;' but I venture to understand the writer somewhat differently. He says that the library of Gemblours contained the whole of the canonical Scriptures *in one volume*, and also many other volumes 'Divina Scripturae,' some of which may have themselves been portions of the Bible. For in the catalogue of the Abbey of St Riquier (D'Achery's *Spicileg.* II. 310. Paris,

1723), we find (1) 'Bibliotheca integra in uno volumine,' and (2) 'Bibliotheca dispersa in voluminibus xiv.' I do not, of course, maintain that *all* the 'centum volumina' at Gemblours were inspired writings. As contrasted with 'sæcularis disciplina,' the phrase 'Divina Scriptura' would mean what is in that age more commonly expressed by 'libri de divinitate,' and 'eruditio divina;' or, as we should say, 'sacred literature.' Still, such a comprehensive way of speaking was not, I think, general even in the Middle Ages. I have looked through all the works of John Scotus, as collected by Dr Floss, without finding a single case where 'Scriptura,' 'Sancta Scriptura,' 'Divina Scriptura,' are applied to any authority except the Old and New Testament. Once at least (*De Divisione Naturæ*, lib. v. c. 1) the writings of the Fathers are positively excluded. Scotus also uses the plural forms 'Scripturæ' and 'Divinæ Scripturæ' with the same limitation, a limitation which obtains, as far as I can see, in all the standard works of the period, more especially in those of Rabanus Maurus, who died 856. About half a century later, the monk Notker of St Gall put forth his meagre narrative respecting the chief expositors of Holy Writ (*Biblioth. Patrum*, ed. Galland. xiii. 755 sq.): the title of it shewing that 'Sacræ Scripturæ' was then generally restricted to the Bible. It runs thus: 'Notatio Notkeri de illustribus viris, qui ex intentione Sacras Scripturas exponebant, aut ex occasione quasdam sententias divinæ auctoritatis explanabant.' One or two additional examples of this usage are subjoined from English writers. Theodore (*Liber Pœnitentialis*, c. xlv. § 15), after quoting numerous texts of Scripture, ('multis Divinarum Scripturarum documentis') adds: 'His quoque sententiis concordat auctoritas canonica,' and then gives extracts from the Fathers and Councils. Archbishop Egbert, in like manner (*Dialogus*, in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, &c. ii. 96), adduces passages exclusively from Holy Writ, and then observes: 'Hac ergo auctoritate Divinarum Scripturarum ecclesia catholica morem obtinet,' etc.; and the author of the *Ecclesiastical Institutes* (Ibid. ii. 414) remarks, that although the Holy Scriptures ('halgu gewritu') abound in salutary examples, he would add the lessons of a holy Father for instruction in good works. And, lastly, the same restricted use of the expression 'sanctæ Scripturæ' occurs in a MS. Commentary on the Rule of St Benedict, written in the 10th century by Dunstan, and lately brought to light in our University Library (Ee. ii. 4); vid. *e. g.* fol. 26, b.

One cannot help remarking in all questions of this kind, how much of vagueness and confusion has resulted from the want of some definite article in the Latin language.]

C. HARDWICK.

Note on p. 252.

WHILE these pages were passing through the press, my attention was called to a passage in the *Varronianus* (p. 52, 2nd Edit.), which I take some shame to myself for having overlooked. On reperusing it, however, I see no reason for modifying or retracting anything that has been advanced in the text on the God Mithras. It would scarcely be inferred from Dr Donaldson's statement, that Burnouf's translation of the words I have quoted from the Zend liturgy, is put forward by its author with the greatest diffidence, knowing as he did, that no other passage in the Zendavesta, or kindred works, gives the smallest support to the existence of *two* Mithras. It is not however in the narrow limits of a note that I can discuss the conclusions arrived at in this passage of the *Varronianus*. Meantime I would recommend my readers to peruse the whole of that passage from Julius Firmicus, of which Dr D. gives only the opening words. The emphatic "*hunc* Mithram dicunt," applied by Firmicus to the male deity, proves clearly enough that in his apprehension at least, the female counterpart was known by a different name. Indeed, archæology shews that the female statue described by Firmicus was a representation of the Venus Mylitta. Sed hæc hactenus.

Adversaria.
I. *On an Egyptian MS. of the Iliad.*

THE Rev. Churchill Babington has received from A. C. Harris, Esq., of Alexandria, in answer to his enquiries respecting a MS. of Trypho, the following communication, which he requests us to insert.

(Copy).

ALEXANDRIA,

April, 1854.

The MS. of Tryphon was found upon a mummy in Middle Egypt, and I suppose that mummy to have been the body of Tryphon himself. The treatise is entitled *Τρυφῶνος τεχνὴ γραμματικὴ*. It is written in a papyrus book made from a number of sheets of papyrus, each $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, folded and placed one within the other so as to form a quire-book $11\frac{3}{4}$ in length and $5\frac{1}{4}$ in breadth. On one side of each leaf there was written of the Iliad of Homer from 48 to 57 verses; the whole must have

originally comprised books A, B, Γ, Δ. The scribe having finished copying from Homer, turned the book upside down and commenced copying the treatise of Tryphon on the blank pages. Unfortunately I have only about half the book I have described, for my servant who found it, in detaching it from the mummy-cloth, which is strongly bitumened, tore out the middle leaves and left the rest in the cloth, and now the body cannot be found; the pit has been so much disturbed, and men and crocodiles, of which it is full, tumbled one upon the other in sad confusion, and the chambers containing them are about 400 feet from the mouth of the pit below ground. Some day I will apply to the Pacha for permission, and spend a fortnight in a deliberate search for what has been left behind. The mummy besides had in its hand a papyrus roll containing the 18th book of the Iliad, which I also have, very nearly complete.

II. *Miscellaneous Conjectures.*

1. Suidas. in v. Ἀδράστεια. For Ἀδράστου τοῦ παλαιοῦ read Ἀ. τοῦ Τηλαοῦ.

2. Hesychius. in v. τακτονίτου. Read τὰκ τοῦ νίτρου, *things from the Soda Market*, i. e. "*salsamenta*" of all sorts.

3. Diogenianus. vii. 88, in Leutsch's *Parœmiographi Græci*, Vol. i. p. 302. For παρθένος τα πατῶα read παρθέμενος τὰ πατῶα, as Homer, (*Od.* ii. 237,) σφᾶς γὰρ παρθέμενοι κεφαλᾶς κ.τ.λ.

4. Zenob. vi. 15, *ibid.* Vol. ii. p. 165. For ταῦτά σοι καὶ Πύθια καὶ Δήλια read ταῦτά κ.τ.λ. When a man is *doomed*, all oracles are alike to him.

5. Argument to the *Rhesus*. For ὁ γοῦν δικαίαν ἐκτιθεῖς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ Ῥήσου read ὁ γοῦν Δικαίάρχος κ.τ.λ.

C. BADHAM.

*Anecdota.**A Litany used by members of the English Church in the tenth century.*

[THIS formulary was discovered in a MS. belonging to the University of Cambridge (Ff. i, 23, pp. 537 sq.). It is appended, in the same handwriting, to a fine and perfect copy of the Psalter in Latin and Anglo-Saxon. The MS. was executed by an English scribe not later than the opening of the eleventh century¹; and after falling into the hands of archbishop Parker, was by him bequeathed to Sir Nicholas Bacon, who deposited it in its present resting-place (1574).

But I am persuaded that the Litany itself is considerably older than the MS. in which it is preserved: and as this point is one of great interest to all who are engaged in liturgical studies, I will add the reasons which constrain us to place it quite as high as the beginning of the tenth century, i. e. nearly two hundred years anterior to the compilation of the Sarum Breviary, in which (as we shall see) it ultimately reappears with sundry modifications.

It is well known that where the handwriting continues uniform we may approximate very nearly to the age of formularies like the present by observing the date of the most recent saints whom they commemorate. In this case out of 129 invocations none have reference to persons who died later than the year 900 (the great majority indeed are earlier by centuries): while other saints, for instance Dunstan, George, Catharine and Margaret, all of whom occupy a prominent position in the later English Litanies and Calendars, are here wanting altogether.

The most modern saint whose date we are enabled to fix precisely is Eadmund, king of East Anglia, who was slain while fighting with the Northmen in 870²; and a clause in the Litany beginning "A persecutione *paganorum*"³ seems to connect the composition of it more distinctly with the sufferings of that stormy period.

¹ Cf. Wanley, *Libr. Vet. Septentrion. Catalogus*, p. 152.

² Saxon Chronicle ad an. 870: cf. *Monument. Britan.* p. 678, B.

³ *Pagani* was the word generally employed by the Anglo-Saxons to describe the Danish and Norwegian marauders.

There is one more reason for supposing that the invocations were drawn up almost as early as the year 900: though the grounds on which it rests are less conclusive than the former. Five of the personages here invoked have been distinguished by the scribe with capital letters and with slight red patches. They are St Mary, St Michael, St Peter, St Kenelm and St Benedict. Now of these five names the fourth is very seldom noticed even by the English hagiologists, and ere long disappears entirely from the catalogues of saints. His prominent position here was due, I think, to some éclat which lasted only for a time; and as his tragic death occurred in 819⁴, we seem to have another warrant for assigning a very high antiquity to the document before us. It may indeed be urged that the insertion of St Kenelm in larger characters was owing merely to some local influence; for example, to the partiality of the monks of Winchcombe⁵, where his relics were preserved: but on the other hand, I think, this argument is more than balanced by a clause in the Litany itself, which connects it not in any way with Winchcombe, but with one or other of the archiepiscopal dioceses⁶.

On the whole, I am quite convinced that the formulary presents the earliest germ or outline, hitherto discovered, of our modern English Litany. It was apparently engrafted⁷ on the *Consuetudinarium* of Osmund, bishop of Sarum, who revised the service-books about 1085; and the substance of it was afterwards rendered into the vernacular language for the use of laymen, as we see on comparing it with "The Letanie" printed in Mr Maskell's *Monum. Ritual.* II. 223 sq.]

*Kyrie eleison . Christe eleison . Christe audi nos.

Pater de cœlis Deus, Miserere nobis.

Fili Redemptor mundi Deus, Miserere nobis.

⁴ See Florence of Worcester, A. D. 819 (in *Monum. Britan.* p. 547, C.)

⁵ *Monasticon Anglic.* new ed. II. 297, 300.

⁶ The words are "archiepiscopum nostrum" etc., no mention being made of a bishop.

⁷ It is at least contained in the edition of the Sarum Breviary published

in 1531; but owing to the frequent changes introduced into the service-books, one cannot positively argue that it formed part of Osmund's compilation.

⁸ The spelling has been corrected in a few places, and the contractions written out at length. For *eleison* the MS. always reads *leison*.

Spiritus Sancte⁹ Deus, Miserere nobis.

Sancta Trinitas unus Deus, Miserere nobis.

[Then follow a long series of invocations¹⁰, beginning "Sancta Maria ora," and ending "Omnes sancti orate pro nobis."]

Propitius esto,

Parce nobis Domine.

Ab omni malo,

Libera nos Domine.

Ab insidiis diaboli,

Libera nos Domine.

¹¹A peste superbiæ,

Libera nos Domine.

A carnalibus desideriis,

Libera nos Domine.

Ab omnibus immunditiis mentis et corporis,

Libera nos Domine.

A persecutione paganorum¹² et omnium inimicorum nostrorum,

Libera nos Domine.

A ventura ira,

Libera nos Domine.

A subita et æterna morte,

Libera nos Domine.

Per mysterium sanctæ Incarnationis Tuæ¹³,

Libera nos Domine.

⁹ Sanctus *MS.*

¹⁰ Some of the chief national saints are Alban, Samson, Patrick, Guthlac, Cuthberht, Oswald (king), Wilfrith, and Swithun. To which are added several females, *e.g.* Ætheldrytha, Eadburga, Eormehilda, Sexburga, Tova, and Mildryth, all of whom are clearly traceable in early Anglo-Saxon history, except St Tova, who is less conspicuous. Her name, however, still survives in Toveham, formerly attached to Thorney Abbey: see *Monast. Angl.* new ed. II. 596.

¹¹ The following variations occur at this point in the "Letania" attached to the Sarum Breviar. (ed. 1531):

"A damnatione perpetua,

Ab imminentibus peccatorum nostrorum periculis,

[no allusion being made to the "pagani"],

Ab infestationibus dæmonum,

A spiritu fornicationis,

Ab appetitu inanis gloriæ,

Ab omni immundicia mentis et corporis,

Ab ira et odio et omni mala voluntate,

Ab immundis cogitationibus,

A cæcitate cordis,

A fulgure et tempestate,

A subitanea et improvisa morte."

¹² See above p. 266, n. 3.

¹³ The Sarum Litany adds:

"Per nativitatem Tuam,
Per sanctam circumcisionem Tuam,
Per baptismum Tuum,
Per jejunium Tuum ;"

and after the next petition :

Per crucem et passionem Tuam, *Libera nos Domine.*

Per sanctam resurrectionem Tuam,

Libera nos Domine.

Per admirabilem¹⁴ ascensionem Tuam,

Libera nos Domine.

Per gratiam Sancti Spiritus Paracliti,

Libera nos Domine.

A pœnis inferni,

Libera nos Domine.

In die iudicii,

Libera nos Domine.

Peccatores,

Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut pacem et concordiam nobis dones¹⁵,

Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut sanctam Ecclesiam Tuam regere et defensare digneris.

Ut domnum apostolicum¹⁶ et omnes gradus ecclesiæ in sancta¹⁷ religione conservare digneris,

Te rogamus.

Ut archiepiscopum¹⁸ nostrum et omnem congregationem illi commissam in sancta religione conservare digneris,

Te rogamus.

Ut locum istum et omnes habitantes in eo visitare et consolari digneris,

Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut omnibus benefactoribus nostris æterna bona tribuas,

Te rogamus.

"Per preciosam mortem Tuam."

It also substitutes for "a penis inferni" the petition "In hora mortis succurre nobis Domine."

¹⁴ Ammirabilem *MS.*

¹⁵ The Sarum Litany adds:

"ut misericordia et pietas Tua nos custodiat" *etc.*

¹⁶ apostolicam *MS.* "Apostolicus" was not unfrequently used at this period of the pope: see Du Cange s. v. For "domnum" the Sarum Litany has "donum" (an error of the press).

¹⁷ sanctam *MS.*

¹⁸ Instead of this and the next petition the Sarum Lit. reads as follows:

"ut episcopos et abbates nostros in sancta religione conservare digneris."

"ut regi nostro et principibus nostris pacem et veram concordiam atque victoriam donare digneris."

"ut congregationes omnium sanctorum in Tuo sancto servitio conservare digneris."

"ut cunctum populum Christianum precioso sanguine Tuo redemptum conservare digneris."

¹⁹ Ut remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum nobis donares.

Ut animas nostras et animas parentum nostrorum ab æterna damnatione eripias, *Te rogamus.*

²⁰ Ut nobis miseris misericors misereri digneris,
Te rogamus.

²¹ Ut inimicis nostris pacem caritatemque²² largiri digneris,
Te rogamus.

Ut fructus terræ dare et conservare digneris,
Te rogamus, audi nos.

²³ Ut fratribus nostris et omnibus fidelibus infirmis sanitatem mentis et corporis donare digneris.

Ut cunctis fidelibus defunctis requiem æternam donare digneris.

Ut nos exaudire digneris, *Te rogamus, audi nos.*

Fili Dei, Te rogamus, audi nos.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,
Parce nobis Domine.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,
Miserere nobis.

Christe, audi nos.

Kyrie eleïson.

Christe eleïson.

Kyrie eleïson.

C. HARDWICK.

¹⁹ Wanting in *Sar. Litan.*

²⁰ "Ut oculos misericordiæ Tuæ super nos reducere digneris." *Sar. Lit.*

²¹ Wanting in *Sar. Litan.*

²² Karitamque *MS.*

²³ Instead of this petition the *Sarum* Litany has the three following :

"ut obsequium servitutis nostræ rationabile facias."

"ut mentes nostras ad coelestia desideria erigas."

"ut miserias pauperum et captivorum intueri et relevare digneris."

The Te Deum.

It is not the object of this paper to discuss the questions which have been raised as to the antiquity and authorship of the *Te Deum*, or to add to the number of commentators on that noble Hymn. The story that it was composed by St Ambrose and St Augustine, at the baptism of the latter, is well known, and is now regarded by all competent scholars as a legend unworthy of any credit. They who desire information on the critical history of this celebrated composition may find it in Herman Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, and in the authorities to which he refers. The object of the present paper is to make known the text of the *Te Deum* which was used in the offices of the ancient Irish Church prior to the ninth century, and to offer some short remarks on the discrepancies between that and the text now in use.

The Manuscript from which the following copy of the *Te Deum* has been transcribed, is preserved in the Library of Trinity College Dublin, and was formerly in the possession of Archbishop Ussher. On some future occasion, if such a paper should prove acceptable to the readers of the Journal, I may perhaps trouble you with a more full account of this interesting volume. At present, I shall content myself with observing that it is a *Hymnarium* or *Antiphonarium* containing several very ancient hymns, many of them peculiar to the Irish Church, and some in the Irish language*. A great many of the hymns are accompanied by a gloss and marginal notes, containing historical matter, sometimes of considerable interest, and proving beyond a question the great antiquity of the hymns, even at the time when the Manuscript was written, which is undoubtedly not later than the 10th century.

Mention is made of this MS., and of the copy of the *Te Deum* which it contains, by Archbp. Ussher in his learned work "*De Romanæ Ecclesiæ Symbolo Apostolico vetere, aliisque fidei formulis, in prima Catechesi et Baptismo proponi solitis, diatriba.*"

The Archbishop however makes one mistake respecting this copy of the *Te Deum* which I am unable to account for, except

* One of these, in a very ancient dialect of the Irish Gaelic, has been published with a translation, by Dr Petrie in his learned paper on the Antiquities of Tara Hill, in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

by supposing that he wrote from memory, without reference to the original; which he probably had not by him at the time, for the Epistle to Vossius, prefixed to the work, is dated from London. It is also however to be remembered that Ussher was not acquainted with the Irish language, and that his quotations from Irish MSS. are always given at second hand, on the authority of the Irish scholars whom he employed to assist him in this branch of his researches.

Speaking of the Athanasian Creed, in the prefatory letter to Vossius, already alluded to, he says,—“et in hymnorum, partim Latino, partim Hibernico sermone scriptorum, *codice vetustissimo* altero, notatum reperi, trium episcoporum opera, &c.” and citing then a passage as from this MS., in which the Athanasian Creed is said to have been composed by three bishops at the Nicene Council, he adds, “In eadem hymnorum Collectione, *Nicetam* Deum laudavisse legimus, dicentem

Laudate pueri Dominum, laudate nomen Domini. TE DEUM laudamus, te Dominum confitemur,

et quæ sequuntur in hymno illo decantatissimo, qui B. Ambrosio vulgo tribuitur: ista præterea adjecta appendice,

Te Patrem adoramus æternum, Te sempiternum Filium invocamus, Teque Spiritum Sanctum in una divinitatis substantia manentem confitemur. Tibi uni Deo in Trinitate debitas laudes et gratias referimus: ut Te incessabili voce laudare mereamur, per æterna sæcula seculorum. Amen.”

This account agrees accurately with the copy of the Hymn contained in the Dublin MS., except in the statement that *Nicetas* is there said to have been the author. This is not the case; on the contrary, it will be seen that the tradition of its being the joint composition of SS. Ambrose and Augustine is expressly cited, in a title prefixed to the Hymn. How Ussher fell into the error of supposing that it was, in this MS., ascribed to *Nicetas*, I cannot imagine. Neither can I find in this MS. any allusion to the Athanasian Creed, nor the statement (which Ussher apparently quotes from this MS.), that the Athanasian Creed was composed at the Nicene Council by three bishops, Eusebius, Dionysius, and another whose name is unknown. Nevertheless it is evident that this must have been the MS. which Ussher had before him, as it still remains in his library, and is described by him as being written partly in Latin and

rtly in Irish, and as containing before the *Te Deum*, the verse *laudate pueri*, and after it the short hymn, *Te Patrem adoramus*.

It is remarkable that in another very ancient Irish MS., the *antiphonarium Benchorensse*, preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, there is to be found a text of the *Te Deum* agreeing in several particulars with that which is here for the first time published. This Antiphonarium belonged to the Monastery of Beanchar, now Bangor, in the county of Down, founded by St Comhgall, A.D. 558, and has been printed by Muratori, (*Opere*, Tom. XI. part 3, pp. 217—251. *Arezzo*, 1770). The MS., so far as I know, has never been examined by any Irish scholar, and therefore we are ignorant whether it may not contain some notes or glosses in the Irish language. If however we are to judge from what Muratori says of it, we must conclude that it is in Latin only. The copy of the *Te Deum* which it contains is entitled *Hymnus* in Die Dominico*, and like that in the Dublin MS. is preceded by the verse *Laudate pueri*, but it is not followed by the other verses beginning *Te Patrem adoramus* which occur in our MS., but ends with the verse, “Fiat Domine misericordia tua super nos, quemadmodum speravimus in te.”

It has however several remarkable points of agreement with the Dublin text; it coincides with it in what I cannot but think the true readings,

Tu ad liberandum mundum suscepisti hominem,
Non horruisti Virginis uterum,

and,

Eterna fac cum sanctis tuis
Gloria munerari.

It omits also, what I have little doubt are spurious additions to the original hymn, the verses,

Dignare Domine, die isto sine peccato nos custodire,
Miserere nostri Domine, Miserere nostri,

and the verse with which the common text concludes,

In te Domine speravi: non confundar in æternum.

* Muratori gives this and other hymns the title of *Hymnum*, as if he thought that word to be a neuter form equivalent to *Hymnus*. The mistake arose from want of familiarity with Irish

MSS., in which a contraction is used to represent the termination *us*, very similar to that which MSS. of the 15th century employ to denote a final *um*.

Other less important coincidences, as well as some few discrepancies, will be pointed out in the notes.

JAMES H. TODD.

TRIN. COLL. DUBLIN,
March 30, 1854.

Hęc est Laus sanctę Trinitatis, quam Augustinus sanctus
et Ambrosius composuit.

Laudate pueri dominum,
Laudate nomen domini.

Te deum laudamus,
Te dominum confitemur.

Te eternum patrem,
Omnis terra ueneratur.

5 Tibi omnes angeli,
Tibi cęli et uniuerse potestates,
Tibi hiruphim et zaraphim,
Incessabili voce proclamant,
Dicentes, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus,

10 Dominus deus sabaoth,
Pleni sunt celi et uniuerſa terra,
Honore glorię tuę
Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus,
Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus,
15 Te martirum candidatus laudat exercitus,
Te per orbem terrarum
Sancta confitetur ecclesia.
Patrem immense maiestatis tuę,
Venerandum tuum verum et unigenitum filium,

20 Sanctum quoque paraclitum spiritum.
Tu rex glorię, Christe,
Tu patris sempiternus es filius,
Tu ad liberandum mundum suscepisti hominem,
Non horruisti virginis uterum,

25 Tu devicto mortis aculeo,
Aperuisti credentibus regna cęlorum,
Tu ad dexteram dei sedes in gloria patris,
Judex crederis esse uenturus,
Tu ergo quęssimus nobis tuis famulis subueni.

- 30 Quos pretioso sanguine redemisti,
 Eternam fac cum sanctis tuis
 Gloriam munerari.
 Saluum fac populum tuum domine,
 Et benedic hereditati tuę,
 35 Et rege eos, et extolle illos,
 Usque in seculum.
 Per singulos dies benedicimus te,
 Et laudamus nomen tuum in eternum,
 Et in seculum seculi.
 40 Fiat domine misericordia tua super nos,
 Quemadmodum sperauimus in te.

Te patrem adoramus eternum,
 Te sempiternum filium inuocamus.
 Teque spiritum sanctum,

- 45 In una diuinitatis substantia manentem, confitemur.
 Tibi uni deo in trinitate debitas laudes et gratias referimus;
 Ut te incessabili uoce laudare mereamur,
 Per eterna secula.

1. Laudamus] Over the word *laudamus* there is the gloss "i. ore, vel opere."

2. Confitemur] Gloss. "i. corde."

7. Hiruphim] In the margin there is this note: "Sciendum est quod hiruphim et saraphim per *m* literam prolata juxta proprietatem lingue ebreę masculini sunt, et pluralis numeri tantum. Si autem per *n* literam dicantur greca sunt, et neutri generis et pluralis numeri."

9. Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus] Gloss. "i. sanctus ter dicitur quia unus et trinus est deus." The word *dicentes* does not occur in the common text of this Hymn; but it is found in the MS. Vat. 82. cited by Daniel, Thesaur. Hymnolog. ii. p. 298.

11. Universa terra] Gloss. "i. aeclesia per quadratum orbem defusa [sic] non desinit laudare et orare deum." The word *universa* does not occur here in the modern copies of this Hymn; but it is the reading of the *Antiphonarium Benchorense*.

12. Honore] So also the *Antiph. Benchor*. The common text reads *Majestatis*.

13. Apostolorum] Gloss. "i. misorum," [for *missorum*,] an explanation of the Greek word *apostolorum*.

14. Prophetarum] Gloss. "i. prouidentium." Here is another Latin interpretation of a Greek word; this instance, with that which precedes, proves that the words *apostolus* and *propheta* had not become

quite naturalized in the Latinity of the Irish Church at the time when the gloss upon this copy of the *Te Deum* was written.

15. Martirum] Gloss. "i. fidelium." Another interpretation of a Greek word.

18. Maiestatis tue] The common text omits *tue*; as does also the *Antiph. Benchorensse*.

19. Unigenitum filium] The common text reads *unicum* for *unigenitum*. This latter is the reading of the Codex Thomasii Alex. 11. cited by Daniel, ubi supr. and of the Antiphonarium Benchorensse.

23. Tu ad liberandum] The common reading is,

"Tu, ad liberandum suscepturus hominem,"

which is not very literally rendered in our Prayer-Book version, "When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man;" for "ad liberandum suscepturus hominem" would seem rather to mean, "when thou wast about to take upon thee man, [i. e. human nature] for the purpose of deliverance, thou didst not abhor, &c.," unless we suppose the translators of our Liturgy to have intended the insertion of a parenthesis, "when thou tookest upon thee (to deliver) man, thou didst not abhor, &c."

Some of the old English versions which we find in the Primers of the 15th century appear to have omitted *suscepturus*, for they read, "Thou wert not skoymous [squeamish] of the maydens wombe to deliyer mankind*." Others seem to have connected *suscepturus* and *virginis uterum*, "Thou wert no3t skoymes to take the maydenes wombe, for to deliver mankynde†."

In the Primer of 1535, as edited by Dr Burton‡, this verse is thus rendered :

"Thou (when thou shouldest take upon thee our nature to deliver man) didst not abhor the virgin's womb."

It appears from these discrepancies that there was anciently a difference in the reading of this passage ; but the reading of our MS. agrees with that of the *Antiph. Benchorensse*, inserting the word *mundum*, and giving *suscepisti* for *suscepturus* : these readings remove all difficulty, and are very probably the true text : "Thou tookest upon thee man to deliver the world ; Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb."

The reading "suscepisti" occurs in a MS. containing a German interpretation of 26 hymns, preserved in the Bodleian Library, and it is noticed and censured by Abbo Floriacensis, who calls it an error, *juxta quorundam imperitorum errorem*; cited by Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.* ii. 299.

27. Sedes] The *Antiph. Benchor.* reads *sedens*, which is very probably the true reading.

29. Nobis tuis famulis] So also the *Antiph. Benchor.* The common text omits *nobis*.

31. Eternam fac] The common text, as given in the Roman

* Maskell, Mon. Rit. Eccl. Anglic. Vol. II. p. 14.

† Ibid. p. 231.

‡ Three Primers put forth in the reign of Henry VIII. Oxford, 1834. p. 82.

Breviary and translated in our English Prayer-Book, is "*Æterna fac cum sanctis tuis in gloria numerari*," "Make them to be *numbered* with thy saints in glory everlasting." But the *Antiph. Benchor.* and every copy of the *Te Deum* which I have seen in any MS. older than the 16th century, have "*Æterna fac cum sanctis tuis gloria munerari*," which the old English versions published by Mr Maskell render "Make hem to be rewardid with thi seyntis: in blisse, with everlastinge glorie†," or "Make hem to be rewarded with thi seyntes in endeles blisse‡;" and every one acquainted with the black letter writing of the fifteenth century will at once see how easily *munerari* may be mistaken for *numerari*.

That the former is the true reading§ can scarcely I think admit of a doubt, but the other readings of this verse in the Irish Hymnarium are corrupt. We ought evidently to read *eterna*, and *gloria*, as in the *Antiph. Benchor.* It is also clear that the construction is, "*quos redemisti fac munerari*," and that the verse, "whom thou hast redeemed," ought therefore to be connected with that which follows, not with that which precedes:

"We therefore pray Thee help thy servants.

Those whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood,
Make thou to be rewarded with thy saints, in glory everlasting."

33. *Populum tuum*] Gloss. "i. christianum."

34. *Hereditate tue*] Gloss. "i. ecclesiae."

35. *Et rege eos*] Gloss. "i. in bonis operibus."

Extolle] Gloss. "i. defende."

36. *In seculum*] Gloss. "i. in vita æterna." The common text reads, "*usque in eternum*." The *Antiph. Benchor.* has "*usque ad seculum*."

37. *Per singulos dies*] Gloss. "i. in prosperis et in adversis sine ullo intervallo te benedicimus."

38. *In æternum*] So also *Antiph. Benchor.* The common text reads "in seculum."

39. *In seculum seculi*] The *Antiph. Benchor.* adds "Amen."

40. *Fiat Domine*] Gloss. "i. oratio ecclesiae." The common text reads, "*Fiat misericordia tua, Domine*," but the *Antiph. Benchor.* agrees with our MS. Between lines 39 and 40 our MS. omits the two verses of the common text,

*Dignare Domine, die isto, sine peccato nos custodire,
Miserere nostri Domine, miserere nostri;*

* Very many MSS. insert *in* before *gloria*.

† Mon. Rit. Vol. II. p. 14.

‡ Ib. p. 230, 232.

§ Daniel says: "Procul dubio in hac voce [munerari] tenes scripturam antiquissimam et genuinam. *Nunerari* primum occurrit in Brev. Italis v. c. in

Franc. anni 1495 [i. e. a Franciscan Breviary, printed at Venice in that year] et L g. [By these letters he refers to the *Heures a l'usage de Lengres*, printed at Troyes, without a date]. *Seculo decimo sexto ecclesia Romana in ejusmodi litibus interdum τραπεζουσα recentiorem scripturam in textum recepit.*"

and after v. 40, it also omits the verse,

In te Domine speravi: non confundar in æternum.

And the same verses are omitted in the *Antiphonarium Benchorensæ*. These are therefore, in all probability, interpolations of a later date. The last is obviously taken from Ps. xxxi. 1, or Ps. lxxi. 1, and *Miserere nostri* is from Tob. viii. 10 (Vulg.) The other verse *Dignare Domine*, occurs, as Ussher has remarked, in the *Hymnus Vespertinus*, which he has published in his *Tract de Symbolo Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, p. 43. (Works, Elrington's Edit. Vol. vii. 337).

42. *Te patrem*] What follows, although by the same scribe, and written at the same time with the rest, is in a somewhat different and more angular character, and was not therefore intended as a part of the *Te Deum*. It is a separate hymn of praise used probably in the services of the ancient Irish Church in conjunction with the *Te Deum*, as a more distinct profession of faith, in opposition to Arianism. As the congregation were called upon to celebrate the praises of God in this hymn by the introductory verse (Ps. cxiii. 1) "*Laudate pueri Dominum, &c.*," so at the close of the hymn they add this short praise of the Trinity, just as we now repeat the *Gloria Patri* at the end of each psalm. And it is remarkable that the title, ascribing the hymn to St Augustine and Ambrose, is in the same angular character as the hymn *Te patrem adoramus* at the end; the verse *Laudate pueri*, with the *Te Deum* itself, being in the round and bold Irish characters found in our Irish Biblical MSS. of the 6th and 7th centuries.

[It is worth noticing that the Cambridge MS. (Ff. i. 13, p. 525), to which we are indebted for the Litany printed on another page, contains also a copy of the *Te Deum*, and that the reading which it furnishes is *munerari*.]

Correspondence.

I.

Quotations in Wheatly. (No. I. p. 134.)

(1) "The primitive Rule of Reformation" is the name of a Sermon by Dr Pierce.

(2) The Roman Catholic "Practical Catechism" was written by Gother. (Dodd, iii. 483.)

(3) The reference to the "Defence of the Exposition of the Order of the Church of England, p. 45," may be verified by considering that it was intended to relate to page 45 of Archbishop Wake's "Exposition of

the *Doctrine of the Church of England*," 4to. Lond. 1686. It was the margin of page 44 which directed Wheatly to consult Menardus.

(4) This remarkable passage in support of Trine Immersion is adduced by Bingham (B. xi. C. xi. Sect. vi.) thus: "St Austin joins both reasons together," &c., while faithful Wheatly (who assures us in his Preface, that when he "could not mend an expression" in the books from which he was copying, he would never "do it an injury by changing it,") has the phrase, "St Austin joins both these reasons together." We meet with, on this occasion, an instance of a custom which should earnestly be protested against; namely, that of having recourse to the citation of spurious authorities, when those which are genuine are felt to be inadequate. The extract comes, as Mr Clay observes, through Gratian, (*De Consec.* Dist. iv. cap. lxxviii.) and the same "Homilia 3" is alleged by Ivo, (*Decret.* Par. i. cap. exciv. fol. 34. Lovan. 1561,) and Peter Lombard, (*Sentt.* Lib. iv. Distinct. iii. fol. 297. Paris. 1553,) but is not quoted by Burchard. The Sermon in question is one of those published, in the year 1631, by the Jesuit Sirmondus, who does not admit its authenticity, but places it in an Appendix, (cf. ejus *Opp.* Tom. i. col. 202. Venet. 1728.) It commences with the word "Promisimus," and is addressed *Ad Neophytos*, "De mysterio Baptismatis." (Vid. *Opp.* S. Aug. Tom. vi. App. col. 770. ed. Bened. 1701.)

R. G.

II.

On a Fragment of Euripides. (No. I. p. 133.)

"Versiculos illos Euripideos noram: protulit primus ex Basilio magnus Porsonus *Advers.* p. 245. ed. Lips. eosdemque suppléverant alicunde A. Nauckius *Philolog.* v. p. 556, et F. G. Wagner iii. p. 192 *poet. Tragicorum*. Nemo tamen sensit fatuum esse σοφόν. Substitutum id genuino vocabulo est ab ἀσόφοις consarcinatoribus florilegiorum, cum ipsum Eur. credere liceat scripsisse: τοῖον γὰρ (vel τοιοῦτον) ἄνδρα, καὶ ἐκὰς ναίη χθονός, καὶ μῆπορ' ὅσσοις πρόσθ' ἴδω, κρίνω σοφόν."—F. W. Schneidewin in a letter to C. Babington. [Wagner enumerates the lines among the fragments of the *Anonymous Tragic Poets*: nor does Nauck assign them to any author: they must, consequently, on the authority of the Cambridge MS., be now first inserted among the fragments of Euripides.

C. B.]

Notices of New Books.

Were "heretics" ever burned alive at Rome?—London, Petheram, 1852, pp. 56. *Records of the Roman Inquisition*: Dublin, at the University Press, 1853, pp. 23.

[If any doubt survive as to the former of these topics, it ought certainly to be dispelled by publications like the present. Mr Gibbings of Raymunderdoney, was incited to translate and edit the original documents which they contain, by reading in the *Dublin Review*, (June, 1850, p. 457,) that the Roman Inquisition "has never been known to order the execution of capital punishment." The case of Fra Fulgentio Manfredi, who was burnt on Sunday, July 4, 1610, by the immediate authority of pope Paul V., and at the instigation of the cardinals, is a clear instance of the contrary. A detailed report of the proceedings against him is preserved in the original MS. brought from Italy by a French officer.

The same unchristian spirit is betrayed in the second of these documents, which relates to an earlier prosecution for heresy, conducted by no less a personage than Carlo Borromeo, "Inquisitor deputatus," in 1564. The subject of it was a friar of Mileto, who was sentenced by Borromeo to be walled up ("murato in un loco circondato da quattro mura"): but on escaping was burnt in effigy.

Both the tracts, we need scarcely say, are edited by Mr Gibbings with his wonted accuracy and intelligence.] C. H.

Three Treatises by JOHN WYCKLYFFE, D.D., now first printed from a manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with notes and a Glossary, by JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D.: Dublin, Hodges and Smith.

[Dr Todd has already done good service in this field of literature. In 1840 he edited *The Last Age of the Church*, a work composed, as there is every reason to believe, by Wycliffe at the outset of his public life. We are also indebted to Dr Todd for a most careful and scholarlike edition of the *Apology for the Lollards*, which appeared in 1842 among the publications of the (historical) Camden Society. It forms a second manifesto of the same important school, although it cannot fairly claim to be the work of their great leader. Those who wish to study it in order to determine the true characteristics of the Lollards should compare another recent publication entitled by its editor (Mr Forshall), a *Remonstrance against Romish Corruptions*. But all these works in real interest fall short of the treatises which Dr Todd has lately brought to light. The first is on 'The Church and her members;' the second on the 'Apostacy,' or grievous aberrations, 'of the clergy,' and the third on 'Antichrist and his meynee,' or dependents. One at least may be confidently assigned to the closing year of Wycliffe's life; and all of them are fearless expositions of his views as they were held in the final stage

of their development. Dr Todd has printed these tracts in black letter, preserving the ancient orthography and punctuation, so that apart from their high value to the theological and ecclesiastical student, they furnish good specimens of the English language in the second half of the fourteenth century.] C. H.

Friesisches Archiv; Beiträge zur Geschichte der Friesen und ihrer Sprache, herausgegeben von H. G. EHRENTAULT; zweiter Band: Oldenburg, 1854.

[The first instalment of this work appeared in 1849. It purposes to investigate and place on record the antiquities of a Teutonic family extending from the Scheldt as far as Jutland. The editor, M. Ehrentraut, is one of those thorough archæologists who labours at his subject *con amore*. Many of the papers are extremely interesting not only to his fellow-countrymen in this or that locality, but to philologists in general: and as some among ourselves have now begun to study the peculiar features of the English language in good earnest, they will thank us for bringing a new work like the present under their notice. It abounds with evidence of the original affinity subsisting between the Altfriesisch and the Anglo-Saxon, as well as of the common laws by which their dialects have been produced.]

C. H.

Das Christenthum und die Christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte, von Dr FERDINAND CHRISTIAN BAUR, Ord. Prof. d. Theol. a. d. Univ. Tübingen. Tübingen, Fues, 1853. 8vo. pp. xii. and 504.

[This latest work of Dr Baur is of the highest value, as giving a general view of the results at which he has arrived in his numerous essays on the first literature, constitution, and doctrine of the Christian Church. The clearness, calmness, and subtilty of his writing leaves nothing to be desired in it as the exposition of his system; and we may accept it as an authoritative statement of the critical school of which he is the founder and ablest representative. The greater part of the book is merely a reconstruction of old materials, with some additions from the Treatise against all heresies attributed to Hippolytus, and the remarkable Gnostic work, *Πίστες Σοφία*. It is not of course a history of facts, but of principles—a philosophy of the history of the Catholic Church. Dr Baur insists much on the fact that he regards Christianity purely objectively; but that is only true when he has arbitrarily limited the subject. From the first he assumes that the different forms of thought and doctrine which combined to complete the Catholic Church of the third century, could not have had their rise in a Catholic and Apostolic Church of the first century. This is important, as marking in what direction our positive criticism must be turned. Christian apologists must shew that the types of Apostolic doctrine were essentially united by one informing spirit, that heresies arose from their partial and exclusive development, that the Church was the outward organization in which they were united.]

This general remark will indicate the manner in which we should review Dr Baur's Essay, if that were our task. But every step is a controversy; and it will be enough here to notice the general course which he follows. In the first section he considers Christianity in relation to the old world. There is nothing in it, he says, which was unprepared, nothing which had not been anticipated by the head, the heart, or the conscience of men. It was a summary of the experience of humanity; and the Resurrection was the basis of its historical development. Dr Baur declines, indeed, to give any judgment on the nature of that cardinal event, but he recognizes it as the firmest article of the early Christian Creed. He then traces the antagonism of the Petrine and Pauline doctrines, up to the time of their fusion, and finds the completion of the Catholic Church in the Gospel of St John. Dr Baur pays no regard to the fresh evidence for the authenticity of St John's Gospel in the *Philosophumena*. He assumes that the Apocalypse and the Gospel cannot have been written by the same person; and adds that the balance of outward evidence is in favour of the Apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse—a Gordian solution. In the third section he reviews the great forms of heresy, Gnostic and Montanist, and the bulwarks of the Catholic opposition, Scripture, Tradition, and the Hierarchy. The next contains an account of the development of the doctrine of the Person of Christ, brought down to the Council of Nice, with a criticism of the Monarchian and Arian systems. The two concluding sections, which contain most that is new in the book, deal with the relations of Christianity to the Roman Empire, and to general morality.

Those who are familiar with Dr Baur's former speculations, will be able to anticipate the mode in which he fills up the outline. It is unnecessary for us to protest against his negative conclusions, which are in defiance of the principles from which he starts; but apart from these it must be acknowledged that he has done good service to early Christian history. His own plan suggests the true refutation of his errors; and in laying open differences and advances in the doctrine and government of the Church, he has unconsciously called attention to harmonies which might otherwise have lain hid, and vividly exhibited what is the true historic development of our faith, as distinguished from any inherent creative power or rigid uniformity.]

B. F. W.

Constitutiones Apostolicæ. Text. Græc. recogn., præf. est, annot. critt. et indd. subjecit GUIL. UELTZEN. Suerini et Rostochii. 1853. 8vo. pp. xxvi. and 284.

[The whole of the antient writings contained in Cotelier's expensive collection can now be purchased in a cheap form. The first effort of every good editor must be to obtain a sound text: and the textual difficulties of the Apostolical Constitutions are formidable indeed. Ueltzen has wisely abstained from attempting too much: such a complete edition as M. Bunsen suggested, including not only the Greek illustrative fragments but the oriental recensions, has been, he confesses, beyond his

powers. He has however made an important provisional contribution towards such a work, by producing a highly creditable (though very far from perfect) Greek text, formed by a laborious comparison of the readings contained in previous Greek and Latin editions, (including Bickell's recent *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*), together with occasional conjectures. His modest and sensible notes are almost entirely critical; so that the illustrations are chiefly confined to the unusually full and suggestive indices. The preface gives an admirably condensed literary history of the Constitutions, and describes the several modern theories, especially those of Krabbe, Drey, and Bunsen. Ueltzen singularly refrains from pronouncing any opinion of his own, in which respect we shall take leave to follow his example, merely calling attention to an able and independent article on the subject in the *Christian Remembrancer* for April. This volume is, we trust, the beginning of a series of labours, in which English scholars ought to take a leading part. Several MSS. have yet to be collated or recollated: and then it will require years to effect, with due care, the resolution of the patchwork into its elements, the removal of petty interpolations, and finally the exegetical illustration of the whole.] F. J. A. H.

H. W. J. THIERSCH. *Politik und Philosophie in ihrem Verhältniss zur Religion unter Trajanus, Hadrianus, und die beiden Antoninen.* 8vo, pp. 33. Marburg.

[A short but pregnant historical tract, by one of the soundest and ablest critics of Germany. His object is to investigate the attempts at restoration in the imperial policy of the West and the philosophy of the East, culminating together in the Græco-Roman *Imperator Philosophus*, M. Aurelius. Most of the single parts of his view (which we have not space to describe in detail) are familiar enough: but its total effect is to shed much new light on the forces in operation during the "after-summer" of Roman greatness that succeeded the death of Domitian. Perhaps the chief fault is a habit of merging individual peculiarities in broad tendencies, and overlooking men for principles: thus the distinctive characters of the several emperors are but vaguely handled. Thiersch is also too ingenious in finding recondite allusions. But these are trivial blemishes in an author whose importance it is difficult to overvalue. One who sees so clearly the mischief of separating ecclesiastical from civil history, cannot write without imparting fresh life to both.] F. J. A. H.

VALERII MAXIMI *Factorum et Dictorum memorabilium libri novem cum incerti auctoris fragmento de pronomibus.* Recens. et emend. CAR. KEMPFUS. Berolini, impensis Georgii Reimeri. 1854. 8vo, pp. 792. 3½ Thlr.

[M. Kempf in an elaborate preface gives a life of Valerius, drawn altogether from his work; a discussion *de fontibus Valerii*, in which many passages are proved to be borrowed from Cicero, Livy, and others; another on the credibility of Valerius, in which M. Kempf states that

many of Valerius's mistakes had been corrected by Pighius, without MS. authority; these M. Kempf has restored to their place in the text. Passing by a chapter on the style of Valerius, we come to the most important part of the preface, that which treats of the critical condition of the text. After collecting the hints scattered through various classical and mediæval writers, M. Kempf gives an account of the epitomes of Julius Paris and Januarius Nepotianus (published by Mai), the former of which he found very serviceable. With true German industry he has collated MSS. in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, France, and England, and seems to have bestowed much pains on the choice of readings. On testing his explanatory commentary by comparing it with an annotated copy of Torrenius's edition, we find that he has sometimes anticipated our supplements; in other places they have escaped him: occasionally he has omitted some valuable references given in former notes; so that the student may still with profit recur to the commentaries of Perizonius.]

J. E. B. M.

GIBBON'S *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. With Notes by Dean Milman and M. Guizot. Edited, with additional Notes, by W. SMITH, LL.D. In 8 vols. 8vo. London, Murray, 7s. 6d. each volume. Vol. I. (with Autobiography), pp. xxxii. and 415. Vol. II. pp. x. and 425.

[In this edition the references to ancient authors have been for the first time verified and completed. We have not been able to examine this part of Dr Smith's labours so thoroughly as we could have wished; but where we have tested his accuracy, we have never found it fail. Dr Smith has judiciously curtailed the additional notes of Wenck, Guizot, and Milman; and has indicated the sources from which Gibbon's narrative may be corrected and amplified. As so many derive their whole knowledge of the Middle Ages from the *Decline and Fall*, those whose studies have lain in that neglected field will be doing a public service by communicating any of Gibbon's errors to his learned editor.] J. E. B. M.

Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, (1851—1853). 8vo, pp. 220. Liverpool, Deighton and Laughton, 1854.

[Amongst the articles in this very creditable volume, one is of special interest: "An Account of two Greek Sepulchral Inscriptions at Ince Blundell," by the President, Mr J. B. Yates.]

History of Latin Christianity, including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicolas V. In 5 Vols. Vols. I.—III. 8vo., pp. v. and 478, 509, 554. London, Murray, 37s.

[This History, like its author's other works, is written with much taste and elegance. Dean Milman's wide acquaintance with general literature enables him often very effectively to illustrate the manners of the times which he is describing, and he has employed most of the important authorities, general and special, on mediæval history and bio-

graphy. By their help he has produced a work which, in point of information, interest and impartiality, may be favourably contrasted with most English books on the subject—Dr Hallam's amongst the number. Its great defect is, that it appears to be based more on secondary authorities than on an independent study of original texts. This may be inferred (for instance) from such a note as this (Vol. I. p. 144): "*Nestorius appears* to have answered this attack with moderation."

J. E. B. M.

Lyra Græca: Specimens of the Greek Lyric Poets from Callinus to Soutosos. Edited, with Critical Notes and a Biographical Introduction, by JAMES DONALDSON, M.A., Greek Tutor to the University of Edinburgh.

[This little work, thus accurately epitomised in the title-page, does credit to the taste and judgment of its editor, and will, we doubt not, find its way into our classical schools.

In making his selection, the Editor has been guided by various considerations. He says in the preface, "I have sometimes chosen a poem because of its beauty; sometimes because of its historical interest; sometimes because it is representative of a large class of poems: and sometimes because it is the best, or most convenient, specimen of the poet which could be obtained."

The word *Lyric* is used by Mr Donaldson as a general term including *Elegiac* and *Bucolic*, so that we find here specimens of Solon and Theocritus as well as Pindar and Sappho.

We may be permitted to doubt whether Soutosos and Kokkinakes are entitled, either by the matter or the form of their poems, to be joined in the same volume with the old bards.

Not that we undervalue the study of Romaic, or, as it is the fashion to call it, Neo-Hellenic. The advanced scholar will always find himself repaid for the trouble of its acquisition by the light which it throws on many perplexing questions of Grammar and Prosody: but boys commencing the study of the old language will only be puzzled by the attempt to learn simultaneously the modern jargon.

Moreover the efforts, highly creditable in themselves, which have been made of late years to restore the ancient idiom, have spoilt the interest of modern Greek as a philological study. It is always worth while to trace the *natural* changes of a language, its progress or decay—not so when, as in this case, the natural decay has been artificially arrested. So a restored ruin is no object of architectural study when the new work cannot be distinguished from the old.

Such at least is our opinion; but, as our friend Professor Blackie tells us, we have many prejudices south of the Tweed.

Now that we are by way of making objections, we may say that perhaps it would be better in a second Edition to omit the Biographical summaries, the sources of which are easily accessible, in Dr Smith's Dictionary to wit, and to devote the space to additional notes.

The notes seem to us very good and scholarlike, with the rare fault, as we have implied, of being too short.

Some bold emendations are proposed: e.g. in Simonides' (of Amorgos) poem upon women, vv. 61, 62,

οὕτε πρὸς ἱπνόν, ἀσβόλην ἀλευμένη
ἵζοιτ', ἀνάγκη δ' ἄνδρα ποιεῖται φίλον,

our Editor proposes

ἵζοιτ' ἄν, ἀγγεα δ' ἀντραπεῖν εἴη φίλον,

adding, "the only change I have made in the *sound* is inserting an *n* between two *es* sounds and expelling a *t*. A knowledge of the investigations into the pronunciation of the ancient Greeks is essentially necessary to an understanding of the errors of transcribers." This is one of the many just and acute remarks to be met with in the volume, though we are unable to acquiesce in its application to this particular passage.

We have not space at present for further discussion, and so we conclude by sending a hearty *Glück auf* to Mr Donaldson, Professor Blackie, and their fellow-labourers in Edinburgh, a city which now bids fair to deserve, more than ever, its title of "the modern Athens."]

W. G. C.

Hannibal's Passage of the Alps. By ROBERT ELLIS, B.D., Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. 8vo. pp. 188. Cambridge, J. Deighton: London, J. W. Parker.

[In this treatise the course of Hannibal's march, from the time of his leaving New Carthago to his entrance into the plains of Italy, is examined by Mr Ellis, who declares in favour of the Mont Cenis as the pass which was crossed. This is the result at which Ukert arrived in the Appendix to the 2nd Volume of his *Geographie*, except that he appears to suppose Hannibal to have crossed at the point over which the high road now runs, the greater Mont Cenis; while Mr Ellis argues for the little Mont Cenis. The two Cols however are not far asunder, and the descent on the Italian side from a point not far below the summit is the same for both.

Mr Ellis commences by a minute discussion of the text of Polybius, from which he deduces the conditions of distance, nature of ground, &c., which the pass selected must satisfy; and then proceeds step by step to shew that they are fully satisfied by the Mont Cenis, and by it alone. In this he has, we believe, been the first to take adequate account of the changes due to modern engineering in the course of the road leading up the valley: the present high-road in one place, near St Pierre d'Allevard, traversing a marshy tract, which formerly must have been quite impassable for an army, and at the Rock of Baune, the λευκόπετρον ὄχυρόν of Polybius, running at the foot of the cliff between it and the torrent, where it is known that until within quite recent times no passage existed. These two points are of considerable importance, being the scenes of the two attacks made by the Gauls upon the army in its march.

Two obvious objections to the adoption of the Mont Cenis as the pass crossed by Hannibal, are found in the words *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν*, Polyb. III. 50, which it has been supposed could only refer to the Rhone, and in the necessity of placing the Allobroges in the valley of the Isère. But Mr Ellis shews that it is impossible to reconcile the supposition of the army having continued its march along the Rhone, with the distances stated: not to mention other difficulties, and the fact that we have no notice of the passage of the Isère; which, if the whole army crossed the river at its junction with the Rhone, must have been an operation of risk and difficulty. Moreover, the expression *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν*, without any distinct intimation of what river was meant, is exactly parallel with *περὶ τὴν ῥάχην*, in c. 55. And although it is true that we find the Allobroges described by later authors as located north of the Isère, yet, according to Strabo it would seem that this river was their southern boundary, and it may easily have happened that they may have been driven somewhat towards the north in the intervening period. Indeed Mr Ellis argues with much plausibility, that the name Allevard is really identical with Allobrica, and thus contains in itself a proof of the occupation of the valley by this tribe.

Mr Ellis believes, with De Luc, that Hannibal crossed the Rhone about Rochemaure, and descended, of course, into the territory of the Taurini. Such was the unanimous testimony of all Livy's authorities; and the single passage in Polybius, which seems to contradict it, is ingeniously explained as one of the succinct accounts or summaries which Polybius has throughout his narrative prefixed to the details of each march or engagement. It had long ago been remarked that it was difficult to comprehend why Hannibal, if he had descended into the territory of the friendly Insubrians, should afterwards have gone out of his way to engage the Taurini: and in the passage of Strabo, IV. 6, *τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων ἣν Ἀννίβας διήλθε*, Mr Ellis finds a new argument in favour of the Mont Cenis.

Though his conclusions are based, in the first instance, upon the text of Polybius, Mr Ellis has not neglected that of Livy, by whose assistance he supplies, in one or two points, the omissions in Polybius' narrative: the last chapter is occupied with an examination of the ancient roads across the Alps, which serves to strengthen the case already made out. In fact such a mass of evidence is accumulated in favour of the theory, as appears almost to amount to an absolute demonstration of its truth.

Not the least interesting part of the book are the etymologies of the Celtic names. Thus the reading *Σκάρας* [*Σκώρας* in one MS.] in Polyb. III. 49, in the description of the island, is successfully vindicated, as being a compound of Isca and Aras, the former element the same as occurs in our own Esk, Usk, Ouse, Exe; and the latter identical with Aar, Arar, &c. The compound Isc-aras will then be the name of the river formed by the two streams jointly after their union: like the Durance, the Dordogne in Auvergne, or our own Thames. Most of the derivations indicated recommend themselves at once. We may be per-

mitted, however, to express a doubt in two instances. Durotincum is resolved into Dur (Dora), water; Tin, a source; and Cum (the Welsh Cwm) a hollow in the mountains. But the -um is apparently only the Latin termination appended, as also in Lemincum, Vapincum; which do not lie in combes: and the termination in *c* is found in many instances in Auvergne at the present day, where the names are clearly Celtic. So too in the case of Mellosedum, it is simpler to suppose that Maol-sead became, by metathesis, Mellosedum, than to introduce a third element, Lon: indeed the *o* might be merely subsidiary to euphony, as in Duro-tincum.

In conclusion, we will only express our satisfaction that the University Press should have assisted in the production of a work so creditable to its author, and to the University of which he is a member.] C. B. S.

Descriptio Antiqui Codicis Virgiliani, a GEORGIO BUTLER, A.M., pp. 66.

[This pamphlet is not published, but applications may be made to the Editor from abroad through Williams and Norgate, and from any part of Great Britain, through J. W. Parker and Son].

[This is a well digested account, together with a collation, of a MS. of Virgil in the Bodleian Library. The MS. is written in the Lombard character, and has been assigned to various dates ranging from the 7th to the 11th century. It derives a peculiar interest from the tradition, preserved in a document attached to it, and apparently trustworthy, that it formerly belonged to the Alighieri family and was the identical copy studied by Dante. To the critic it has an additional value, as representing a distinct class from the other principal MSS. of Virgil. There are several *lacunæ* which are supplied by a later hand. The older parts of the text are accompanied by the commentary of Servius in small character on the margin. The various readings do not appear to be very important; but the orthography is interesting. *Michi, nichil* are written for *mihi, nihil*: certain letters are interchanged, as *f* and *ph*, *i* and *y*; thus we read *phædera, lymfas, Frigyam chlamidem*: *p* is inserted after *m* as *sollempnis, tempnere*: *h* is arbitrarily omitted, inserted, and transposed, as *actenus, hordine, choors*. For other peculiarities we must refer to the "Conspectus Orthographiæ" in Mr Butler's pamphlet. We congratulate the future editors of Virgil that the collation of a MS. so important has fallen into such able hands.]

M. TULLII CICERONIS *de Officiis libri tres*. Emendavit, et adnotatione brevi critica ac philologica instruxit Henricus Alanus.

M. TULLII CICERONIS *Cato Major sive de Senectute liber*. Codd. MSS. duobus suis collatis recensuit, commentatus est tum critice tum philologicè Henricus Alanus.

M. TULLII CICERONIS *Lælius sive de Amicitia liber*. Codd. MSS. tribus suis collatis recensuit Henricus Alanus.

[The reader who is disposed to consult the numerous references to ancient and modern writers in elucidation of grammatical difficulties, will find these little editions useful. The proposed emendations do not appear to us very satisfactory.] J. B. M.

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Jahrb. d. biblischen Wissenschaft, von H. Ewald. Vol. v. Göttingen, 1853. Translation (from the Ethiopic), of the christian book of Adam. By A. Dillmann.—On the Canon of the Bible in the Abyssinian Church. By the same.—Explanation of Persian words in the Old Test. By M. Haug.—Supplementary remarks on the Old Test. By Ewald.—On the external evidences for St John's Gospel.—Review of the works which appeared in 1852-53 on biblical science.

Journal des Savants, Jan. 1854. Charles V., his abdication, retirement, and death, Art. 6. By M. Mignet.—On Zell's *Handbuch d. röm. Epigraphik*, Art. 1. By M. Hase.—Tillemont's Life of St Louis, Art. 6th (and last). By M. Avenel.—Feb. 1854. Charles V., his abdication, retirement, and death, Art. 7. By M. Mignet.—On Coussemaker's *Histoire de l'Harmonie au moyen âge*, Art. 2. By M. Vitet.—On Zell's *Handbuch der röm. Epigraphik*, Art. 2 (and last). By M. Hase.—On Langlois's translation of the *Rig-Véda*, Art. 6. By M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire.—March 1854. On the excavations at Cumæ, Art. 1. By M. Raoul-Rochette.—Charles V., his abdication, retirement, and death, Art. 8th (and last). By M. Mignet.

Mém. de l'Acad. de Metz. 1851-2. Notice of a monument of the Goddess Isis. By Victor Simon.—Metz and its environs [with inscriptions]. By the same.—Antiquities found near Vaudrevange. By the same.—Archeological studies on Gheima (*Calama* in Numidia). By Grellois. [Among other antiquities several funeral inscriptions have been found, and some thousands of coins, ranging from the time of Augustus to that of Gallienus]. Antiquities of Hammam-Meshkoutin, in the province of Constantine. By Grellois.—On some statuettes and tombs found at Géromomont, in Luxembourg. By D'Haart.—On the places at which the Roman coins found at or near Metz were struck. By Boulangé.

Mem. de la real Acad. de la Historia. Tom. viii. Madrid. 1852. Inscriptions and antiquities of the kingdom of Valencia. By De Saboya and Delgado. [300 plates chiefly of Latin inscriptions with explanatory text and index of names].

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Announcements.

Bähr's Herodotus, in three new editions; a large edition in 4 vols. 8vo., a school edition with German and another with Latin notes. The book of Jasher, by Dr Donaldson. Thucydides with German notes by Ullrich, Select plays of Plautus by Fleckeisen, both with German notes.

Notice to Correspondents.

Owing to a pressure of matter, we have been compelled, although we have given an increased number of pages, to defer several contributions to a future Number, and to insert only a portion of others.

The following note reached us too late for insertion in its proper place.

Note on p. 205.

Another instance in support of the statement in the text, that saints are often grouped together merely because they bear the same name, is that of Mary Magdalene and Mary of Egypt, who have their acts pictured in double line round the Chapel of the Bargello in Florence. So also the two Jesuit saints Francis Xavier and Borgia are frequently drawn side by side, and the student of Christian art may remember the constantly recurring difficulty of discriminating between the two Justins of Florence and of Padua.

No. 3 will be published in November. A table of *Errata* and an Index for Vol. I. will be given with No. 4.

THE JOURNAL

OF

CLASSICAL AND SACRED PHILOLOGY.

I.

Notes on the Study of the Bible among our Forefathers.

No. II.

“Se þonne se hine sylfne gesyhð bedælende beon þara streama Haligra Gewrita lara, and þæs Halgan Gastes, þonne bið he genoh þurstig: ac gif he þonne hyne sylfne mid þæm æ-sprungum Godes Worda gelecð and his mod mid þære swetnysse þæs gastlican gedrinces gefylleð, he seleð þæs þonne dryncan his þyrstendum mode¹.” *Ancient Laws*, &c. ed. Thorpe, II. 430.

Two different streams of influence met and finally co-operated in the christianizing of the Anglo-Saxons. The earlier of them issued from the Scottish tribes who occupied the northern provinces of Ireland: the later from a well-known mission set on foot by Gregory the Great, and carried out by his successors. I have shewn already that the Irish teachers were addicted to the study of the sacred volume. Their labours seem to have been most appreciated among the “Anglian” settlers of the north; and it was owing mainly to the literary spirit which they propagated in Northumbria that the leading English scholars of the seventh and eighth centuries were educated in those parts. For we must recollect that the influence of the Irish extended far beyond the Christian communities who kept aloof from continental missionaries, and declined to recognize the jurisdiction of the pope. In many districts where the Roman modes of

¹ [“He who sees himself cut off from the streams of doctrine preserved in Holy Scriptures and from the Holy Spirit, is in such a case thirsty enough.

But on the other hand if he allay his thirst at the water-springs of God’s Word, and fill his spirit with the sweetness of that ghostly potion, he thereby lets his thirsty spirit drink.”]

thought eventually predominated, the ecclesiastics were indebted for at least some portion of their mental and religious culture to the monasteries planted by their Irish rivals. Such we saw² had been the case with Ecgbert the elder, and with Wilbrord; and another champion of the Roman party in the north, the energetic Wilfrith, is a member of the same class. His early years were spent among the Irish brotherhood at Lindisfarne, where he was taught the rudiments of sacred learning: "ibique monachorum famulatui se contradens, diligenter ea quæ monasticæ castitatis ac pietatis erant, et discere curabat et agere. Et quia acris erat ingenii didicit citissime *Psalmos* et aliquot codices" (Bed. v. 19); Eddius, his biographer, stating in addition that he knew the whole book of Psalms "memorialiter" (Gale's *Scriptores* xv. c. ii). At length, however, Wilfrith grew dissatisfied with the position and proceedings of his brethren, and quitting the stronghold of Irish orthodoxy undertook a pilgrimage to Rome. There his education for the ministry was vigorously resumed: "*Quatuor Evangeliorum libros ex ordine didicit, computum paschæ rationabilem, et alia multa quæ in patria nequiverat ecclesiasticis disciplinis accommoda, eodem magistro tradente, percepit*" (Bed. v. 19). We also gather from the same authority that on his return to Northumbria (661), Wilfrith lost no time in working out his new convictions. Wherever he was able, he displaced adherents of the Irish ("qui Scotos sequebantur"), struggling, if it might be, to reduce both Anglian and Saxon provinces within the pale of the Latin Church. And we are justified in adding, that this end was virtually accomplished when the kings of Wessex and Northumbria agreed to welcome Theodore as the archbishop of all England, "cui omnis Anglorum Ecclesia manus dare consentiret" (Bed. iv. 2).

It is, therefore, of importance to inquire at this stage of our investigation, how the early Anglo-Roman school of Christians were affected to the study of the Bible? Did they generally regard it with the feelings which it had awakened in their Irish contemporaries? Or did they manifest a disposition to undervalue it, and check its circulation? Gregory the Great, whom they long afterwards revered as the apostle of the English, may be fairly taken as their spokesman on this point. A single extract from his writings will suffice. It occurs in one of his

² See *Journal of Philology*, No. I. p. 88.

letters to the court-physician, Theodorus, and is therefore a good index of his judgment with regard to the unlimited diffusion of the Scriptures even among the laity: "Imperator cœli, Dominus hominum et angelorum, pro vita tua tibi suas epistolas transmisit; et tamen, gloriose fili, easdem epistolas ardentè legere negligis. Stude ergo quæso, et quotidie Creatoris tui Verba meditare" (*Epist.* iv. 31). Gregory was himself a scholar. As such we find him placing a large supply of books ("codices plurimos") at the service of the missionaries (A.D. 601. Bed. i. 29). He was also actuated by a purely evangelic spirit, and accordingly we might anticipate that some of those numerous books were copies of the holy Scriptures. Such in truth they must have been, if we accept the testimony of a chronicler belonging to the abbey of St Augustine at Canterbury³. Among the codices surviving in the library of the mother-church, he mentions "Biblia Gregoriana in duobus voluminibus, Psalterium Augustini, textus Evangeliorum cum decem canonibus" [i. e. the Eusebian canons]: after which are enumerated other copies of the Bible, the Psalter, and the Gospels. These all, according to the writer, were presents made by Gregory himself, and therefore worthy to be called "primitiæ librorum totius Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ." We should bear in mind, however, that although some part of the materials may be older, the chronicle was not compiled until the reign of Henry V, and for this reason the value of its testimony is proportionately lessened. Still if we allow that many of the codices had found their way to Canterbury at a somewhat later date, our main position is unaffected. They were all indisputably ancient copies of the sacred books, and two at least of them we have the satisfaction of being able to identify with biblical manuscripts presented to the original missionaries. The first is the British Museum MS. (Reg. 1 E, vi), which one of the most competent of living authorities, Mr Westwood, pronounces a veritable portion of the Biblia Gregoriana (*Archæological Journal*, No. XL. p. 292). The second is a well-known MS. preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (No. CCLXXXVI). Its claim to rank in the same category

³ See the passage extracted at length in Wanley's *Lib. Vet. Septentr. Catal.* pp. 172, 173. Mr Westwood, who refers to the MS. in his *Palæographia*

Sacra Pictoria, speaks of it as belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge. It is in the library of Trinity Hall.

has been generally conceded both by ancient and modern archæologists: and I may add, that an able paper contributed by Mr James Goodwin of that college to the publications of the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society* in 1847, discusses the whole question, and arrives at the result before obtained by Wanley and Mr Westwood. The MS. contains a copy of the Gospels in a Latin version agreeing almost literatim with the Vulgate of St Jerome.

Here perhaps is the appropriate place for noticing the character of the sacred text, as it was studied in this country after the arrival of the Roman missionaries. The Irish Church we have already seen was very independent, circulating, there is reason to believe, a Latin version of its own. And traces of a similar independence are discerned in the Northumbrian Church, where Irish influences continued to be felt long after the age of Wilfrith and Theodore. The characteristics of the sacred art of Ireland, so very striking as to render it almost unique, are reproduced in several illustrations of religious books belonging to the northern monasteries: while the same affinity is even more observable on turning to the books themselves. Examples will be found in the Lindisfarne Psalter, printed for the *Surtees Society* in 1843. Postponing all consideration of its Anglian, or Northumbrian-Saxon, gloss, we notice that the Latin of it varies "very considerably from the received text of the Vulgate," and that after its transcription in the eighth century, attempts were made to force it into closer harmony with the Vulgate by "numerous erasures and alterations" (Mr Stevenson's *Preface*). The Lindisfarne Gospels (*Cotton MSS. Nero, D, iv.*) throw further light upon this ancient independence. They exhibit the Vulgate version, it is true, with great fidelity, but what is most remarkable, the author of the Anglian gloss, who wrote at Lindisfarne towards the end of the seventh or in the beginning of the eighth century, has not followed the text he had before him, but a different Latin version. We shall, however, be more able to estimate the true amount of these divergencies when the Lindisfarne Gospels, now in preparation, have been given to the public.

On the other hand, the Roman missionaries invariably made use of the Vulgate as corrected by St Jerome. Gregory the Great bestowed his imprimatur on it, and accordingly from the time of his pontificate, it grew in reputation, and ere long supplanted all its predecessors. There is in fact a passage of

Aldhelm (*De Laud. Virgin.* c. XLIX.) which seems to intimate that as early as the close of the seventh century, the Hieronymic was the authorized version of the Bible,—that which every one employed who wished to be considered orthodox. The words are: “In *orthodoxorum* bibliothecis ubi sagacissima Hieronymi commenta recitantur.” In the following period, therefore, we shall find that nearly all quotations from the Scriptures which occur in English works had been derived through the medium of the Vulgate.

§ 1. *Theodore.*

Sacred literature had never flourished in the southern part of England till the primacy of Theodore of Tarsus. One of his pupils had occasion to deplore the previous lack of scholars, and especially of those who could assist the student of theology. A salutary change, however, followed his appointment. Like many of the popes who lived just after him, the new archbishop was a Greek by birth and education, and this circumstance may have contributed materially to widen the horizon of the English Church. His Oriental leanings are indicated by the fact that Hadrian, the zealous colleague who accompanied him hither, was expressly sent to keep him in check: “ne quid ille contrarium veritati fidei, *Græcorum more*, in ecclesiam cui præset, introduceret” (Bed. iv. 1). Although the works of Theodore are neither numerous nor important, they evince considerable familiarity with sacred literature. He quotes the Bible frequently, yet we must add without much insight or felicity. A specimen of his critical powers may be seen in the *Liber Pœnitentialis* (c. XLVIII), where he examines the import of the words *λατρεία* and *δουλεία*. His favourite expositors seem to have been, of the Latins, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville and St Augustine; and of the Greeks, St Basil and the Pseudo-Dionysius, the latter of whom he styles “antiquus et venerabilis pater.” Several passages might be adduced in which his reverence for the sacred volume as the Word of God is very strongly marked. For instance, after insisting on the duty of observing the Lord’s day, he adds, “Et ut nulli in ipsa ecclesia, vel ubi *lectio Divina* recitata fuerit, verbosare præsumant, sed lectiones sanctas libenter convenit audire, sicut Dominus” etc. (*Lib. Pœnitent.* c. XXVIII. § 8). But Theodore may have contributed still further to the

profitable study of the Scriptures by the impulse which he gave to general literature and more especially the cultivation of the Greek language. Beda thus enlarges on the mighty change which had been wrought by the archbishop and his Roman colleague: "Et quia literis sacris simul et sæcularibus, ut diximus, abundanter ambo erant instructi, congregata discipulorum caterva, scientiæ salutaris quotidie flumina irrigandis eorum cordibus emanabant; ita ut etiam metricæ artis, astronomiæ et arithmeticiæ ecclesiasticæ disciplinam *inter sacrorum apicum volumina* suis auditoribus contraderent. Indicio est quod usque hodie [*i. e.* A.D. 731] supersunt de eorum discipulis qui *Latinam Græcamque linguam, æque ut propriam* in qua nati sunt, norunt. Neque unquam prorsus, ex quo Britanniam petierunt Angli, felicitiora fuere tempora; dum et fortissimos Christianosque habentes reges cunctis barbaris nationibus essent terrori, et omnium vota ad nuper audita cœlestis regni gaudia penderent, et quicumque *lectionibus sacris* cuperent erudiri, haberent in promptu magistros qui docerent" (Bed. iv. 2).

§ 2. Aldhelm.

None of their numerous pupils manifested this desire more strongly than the future bishop of Sherborn. Aldhelm was a Southern Saxon, and the very earliest native scholar who was trained among the Roman missionaries. If we follow William of Malmesbury, who says that Aldhelm died in 709 at the age of seventy, he would be no less than thirty years old when he commenced his studies under Theodore and Hadrian. One of his chief accomplishments is said to have been a perfect knowledge of Greek which he spoke and wrote "*quasi Græcus natione.*" His devotion to it was certainly considerable, as we may argue from the style of his Latin, which is sometimes rendered almost unintelligible by the Græcisms⁴ it contains: *e. g.* he used "*kata*" for "*secundum*," "*archimandrita*" for "*abbas*," and naturalized the word "*acedia*" (*ἀκηδία*), which long kept its place in England

⁴ It is curious to observe that William of Malmesbury (*Anglia Sacra*, II. 7) thinks the style of Aldhelm purer in this respect than that of other writers: "Id in omnibus antiquis cartis est animadvertere quantum quibusdam verbis abstrusis ex Græco petitis delectantur.

Moderatius tamen se agit Aldhelmus, nec nisi perraro et necessario verba ponit exotica." The Camb. Univ. MS. Gg. v. 35, which contains several works of Aldhelm, has other pieces even more disfigured by superfluous Græcisms, (*e. g.* § 17).

as equivalent to "sloth," and as the name of a deadly sin. One of his biographers, Faricius, also speaks of his familiarity with Hebrew: "Prophetarum exempla, Davidis Psalmos, Salomonis tria volumina, Hebraicis literis bene novit, et legem Mosaicam" (*Opp.* ed. Giles, p. 357). And Beda, no incompetent judge, describes him (v. 18), as "undecumque doctissimus: nam et sermone nitidus, et scripturarum, ut dixi, tam liberalium quam ecclesiasticarum erat eruditione mirandus." We gather from the authors whom he quotes, that he read the more distinguished of the Greek Fathers, such as Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus; once also he speaks of Origen, "inclitus Græcorum didasculus" (p. 79). But it is obvious that the principal share of his attention was directed to the pages of the Sacred Volume, for expounding which he deemed the "art of grammar" a most necessary instrument. He thus exhorts a pupil, Ethelwold (pp. 332, 333): "Sed multo magis, mi amantissime, vel lectionibus Divinis, vel orationibus sacris semper invigila. Si quid vero præterea sæcularium literarum nosse laboras, ea tantummodo causa id facias, ut quoniam in Lege Divina vel omnis vel pene omnis verborum textus artis omnino ratione grammaticæ consistit, tanto ejusdem Eloquentiæ Divini profundissimos atque sacratissimos sensus facilius legendo intelligas, quanto *illius rationis qua contextitur* diversissimas regulas plenius didiceris." The principles of exegesis which he followed coincide with those afterwards enunciated more completely by Rabanus Maurus (cf. Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, pp. 165, 166). To arrive at *all* the meaning of the Bible (so he teaches) we must apply four different modes of interpretation, the historical, the allegorical, the anagogical, and the tropological, determining in each particular case whether a passage is susceptible of one or more of these methods. They are all referred to in the following extract (p. 4): "Nunc Divina priscorum prophetarum oracula certis astipulationibus jamdudum Salvatoris adventum vaticinia enixius investigando; nunc antiquarum arcana Legum...nunc quadrifarium Evangelicæ relationis dicta, mysticis catholicorum patrum commentariis exposita et ad medullam usque spiritualiter enucleata, et quadriformis ecclesiasticæ traditionis normulis, secundum historiam, allegoriam, tropologiam, anagogen digesta, solerter indagando." Other passages afford us intimations of his jealousy respecting the sacred Canon and the need of absolute deference to the teaching

it unfolds. Thus, on noticing a spurious work entitled "Revelatio [*al.* Apocalypsis] Pauli," he adds: "Sed fas Divinum vetet catholicæ fidei sequipedas plus quippiam quam canonicæ veritatis censura promulgat credere; et cætera apocryphorum deliramenta vel ut horrissona verborum tonitrua penitus abdicare, et procul eliminare, orthodoxorum patrum scita scriptis decretalibus sanxerunt" (p. 26). In like manner after alluding to an old Hebrew tradition which identifies Melchisedec and Shem, he cautiously subjoins: "Sed plurimum differt inter ambiguas Pharisæorum traditiones et elucubratam *Sacra Scripturæ* definitionem. Apocryphorum enim nænias et incertas frivolorum fabulas nequaquam catholica receptat Ecclesia" (p. 73).

Nor can we trace in him the slightest disposition to restrain the general study of the Bible. In writing to a sisterhood of nuns he congratulates them because their letters prove not only the genuineness of their piety, but their devotion to sacred literature (pp. 2—4). He compares them to bees feeding on the flowery pastures of Holy Writ; and in a letter "ad Osgitham sororem," this commendation is repeated in the strongest terms (p. 90: cf. his poem *De Octo Principalibus Vitiis*, p. 212). So firm indeed was his conviction as to the necessity of biblical knowledge, that he discouraged the cultivation of "profane" literature, at least for its own sake. His advice to Wilfrith was, that on his expulsion from Northumbria he should go to Ireland and prosecute his studies there (p. 337): "Sacrosancta potissimum præsagmina [*i.e.* "writings of the prophets:" cf. p. 340], refutatis philosophorum commentitiis, legito." The reason then follows: "Absurdum enim arbitror, spreta rudis [*i.e.* Novi] ac Veteris Instrumenti inextricabili [*i.e.* "mysterious:" cf. p. 348] norma, per dumosi ruris diverticula, immo per dyscolos philosophorum anfractus, iter capere." The same exalted view of the holy Scriptures will be found in what we may consider the least amiable of his works. Beda terms it (v. 18), "liber egregius adversus errorem Britonum." It was addressed to king Geruntius (pp. 83 sq.), in the hope of drawing over the British Christians and securing their assent to usages imported by the foreign missionaries. These he vindicated almost entirely on the ground that they were "*secundum Scripturæ præceptum*," and "*secundum sacrosanctam Scripturæ auctoritatem*:" but when some of the Nonconformists pleaded in self-defence that they

also venerated the Bible, ("præcepta utriusque Instrumenti,") held fast the doctrines of the Creed, and for those reasons claimed to be regarded as veritable catholics ("et hujus fidei privilegio in catholicorum cœtu glomeratus sine aliquo infelicitatis obstaculo connumerabor"), Aldhelm was driven to another line of argument. "Fides nempe catholica," he writes, "et fraternæ caritatis concordia inseparabiliter pari tramite tendunt;" adding as decisive of the controversy: "Frustra de fide catholica inaniter gloriatur qui dogma et regulam sancti Petri non sectatur" (pp. 88, 89).

§ 3. *Boniface.*

Another ardent champion of the Anglo-Roman school was Boniface or Winfrith, "the apostle of Germany." In speaking of him after his martyrdom, archbishop Cuthbert styles him "præclarus speculator cœlestis bibliothecæ" (Bonif. *Opp.* II. 219, ed. Giles): and such praise is fully justified by what we gather both from his biographer and his own works. His early years had been devoted almost exclusively to the "examination of the sacred laws" (II. 148). "Lectionis Divinæ," adds Willibald, "operam ingenti meditationis studio exhibuit, ita ut maxime demum Scripturarum eruditione tam grammaticæ artis eloquentia et metrorum medullatæ facundiæ modulatione, quam etiam historiæ simplici expositione et spiritualis tripartita intelligentiæ interpretatione imbutus, dictandique peritia laudabiliter fulsit, ut etiam aliis demum paternarum extiterit pædagogus traditionum," etc.—a passage from which it is obvious that Boniface had also learned the fourfold method of interpretation we have noticed in the case of Aldhelm. His biographer continues to inform us that he not only studied the inspired words of prophets and apostles, "stylo sanctitatis conscripta," but committed portions of the Gospel-narrative to memory, while his example stimulated many others, male and female, to procure copies of the Holy Scriptures, and to meditate on them perpetually (p. 150). When Gregory III. commissioned him in 719 to undertake the "preaching of both Testaments" in Germany, he mentioned that Boniface had been distinguished from his childhood by this mark of piety (*Opp.* I. 26). When he left his native shores and came to "Trecht" [Trajectum = U-trecht], it was with a well-defined intention, "ut si qua in parte hujus populi Evangelii patesceret

aditus Verba Dei semina ministraret" (II. 155): and the fifteen short discourses that are still extant shew the way in which he turned his knowledge to a practical account. His correspondence also furnishes a number of pleasing incidents connected with our present subject. Thus, his friend Bugga or Eadburga, an Anglo-Saxon princess, who was living in a convent at Rome, and with whom he was in the habit of exchanging presents, writes to him on one occasion, urging that although she could not yet procure the "passiones martyrum" which he wanted, he would still remember his promise and send for her consolation "congregationes aliquas Sanctarum Scripturarum" (I. 28). He afterwards thanks the same correspondent for "a present of holy books," adding that the lamp of God's Word was needed more than ever by a man in his position who was treading the dark corners of heathendom. It was in truth his constant practice to fetch over new supplies of books from countries where the Gospel was already planted, and more especially from England. He requested as a special favour that his old friend Daniel, bishop of Winchester, would send him (724) a copy of the Book of the Prophets, which Winbert his schoolmaster had left him as a legacy. It is said to have contained six prophets in one volume, written plainly and without contractions ("claris et absolutis literis," I. 40). Such a copy, he continues, could not be obtained where he was, while owing to the failure of his eyesight its importance was peculiarly felt ("caligantibus oculis minutas ac connexas literas clare discernere non possum.") On a second occasion we hear him thanking Eadburga for presents of clothes and books, and then desiring her to get him a copy of St Peter's Epistles written in gilt letters, for his own use in preaching to the carnal: "ut mihi cum auro conscribas epistolas domini mei Sancti Petri apostoli, ad honorem et reverentiam Sanctarum Scripturarum ante oculos carnalium in prædicando" (I. 53). The helps which he employed in studying the Scriptures appear to have been very few. In a letter which he wrote to Cuthbert (735), he alluded to the Venerable Beda who was then daily growing into eminence, and asked for some of his expository treatises (I. 86). A like request was made to Ecgbert of York (I. 87), in which the commentary on the Book of Proverbs was particularly mentioned. Afterwards he signified his want of other patristic commentaries (I. 91, 92), meaning, it

would seem, those treatises which bore the name of "spiritual:" "quia spiritualis tractatus magister legentium Sacrum Eloquium esse dinoscitur." Boniface indeed was eminently practical from first to last, and therefore he would use the Bible chiefly for stimulating his devotion and ordering his daily life. While urging a young friend in England to proceed more sedulously with the study of the Divine Law (I. 29), he asks like one who knew and deeply felt its value: "Quid enim, frater Christiane, a juvenibus decentius quæritur? Aut quid a senibus demum sobrius possideatur, quam scientia Scripturarum Sacrarum, quæ sine ullo naufragio periculosæ tempestatis navem animæ nostræ gubernans, deducit ad amœnissimi littus paradisi etc.?" There is consequently little doubt as to the nature of the volumes which his murderers found in his possession and scattered to the winds (II. 177).

C. HARDWICK.

II.

On Schneidewin's Edition of the Œdipus Rex.
Leipzig, 1849.

(Continued from p. 236.)

v. 8—13, ἀλλ', ὦ γεραίέ, φράξ', ἐπεὶ πρέπων ἔφυς
πρὸ τῶνδε φωνεῖν, τίνι τρόπῳ καθέστατε,
δείσαντες ἢ στέρξαντες; ὡς θέλοντος ἂν
ἐμοῦ προσαρκεῖν πᾶν· δυσάλητος γὰρ ἂν
εἴην, τοιάνδε μὴ οὐ κατοικτείρων ἔδραν.

I have transcribed these verses as they ought to stand according to my view, and as they do stand in Dindorf's text, except that he places a period instead of a colon after πᾶν. Wunder removes the interrogation after στέρξαντες, which word he intimately connects with the following clause. Schneidewin reads μή, and not μὴ οὐ.

Wunder explains: "Tell me, old man, &c. in what frame ye are here, terror-stricken, or intreating in the belief that I shall

wish to afford you the utmost assistance; (a just belief) for I should be hard-hearted not to compassionate a supplication such as this."

Schneidewin: "Tell me, old man, &c. in what frame are ye here, terror-stricken or resigned, as you may be assured that I shall wish to afford you every assistance; for I should be hard-hearted if I did not (μή) pity a supplication such as this."

As far as the word *πᾶν*, I agree with Schneidewin, understanding *δείσαντες ἢ στέρξαντες* to mean, "dreading evils which impend, but may be averted by deprecatory prayer, or resigned to evils which exist, but may be removed by prayerful submission to the will of the Gods." The very rare sense of "intreating," which Wunder gives to *στέρξαντες*, is, I think, excluded by the tense of that participle. The clause *ὥς θέλωντος ἂν, κ.τ.λ.* is connected with *φράζε.*

But, in the next clause, I totally disapprove Schneidewin's conjectural alteration *μή* for *μή οὐ*, and agree more nearly with Wunder,—with his reading and version, but not precisely with his explanation of the construction. Wunder, in his *Excursion*, explains *μή οὐ κατοικτείρων* as equivalent to *ὥστε μή οὐ κατοικτείρειν*. And he is not far wrong. But I would not put the point precisely so. If the participial clause were necessarily to be regarded as the protasis of a condition, of which *δυσάλγητος ἂν εἴην* is the apodosis, then I should say with Schneidewin, that *μή* must be read, and not *μή οὐ*. But I do not so regard it. The protasis (*εἰ μή θέλοιμι*) is suppressed (Obs. II.), and to be supplied from the previous clause, while the participial clause further explains the word *δυσάλγητος*: "for, if I did not wish to help you, I should be hard-hearted, namely, in refusing to compassionate a supplication like this."

Μή οὐ is essentially epexegetic; = "that is to say, not."

It occurs with a participle three times in Sophocles: in this place, again in v. 221, and in *Œd. Col.* 360. In the last-mentioned passage, there being no condition, the force of the particles is very simply and clearly exhibited.

ἦκεις γὰρ οὐ κενή γε, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ σαφῶς
ἔξοιδα, μή οὐχὶ δειμ' ἐμοὶ φέρουσά τι.

The participial clause here is a mere epexegetis of *κενή*: "you are not come empty, that is to say, not without bringing me some fearful tidings."

I shall notice in its place v. 221, where again I shall have occasion to agree with Wunder, and not with Schneidewin.

15—19. The division of the clauses must here be carefully noted :

Protasis.	Apodosis.
(1) ὁρᾷς μὲν ἡμᾶς...	τὸ δ' ἄλλο φύλον...
(2) οἱ μὲν...	οἱ δὲ... οἶδε δέ.
(3) ἐγὼ μὲν Ζηνός...	(suppressed clause ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλων θεῶν.)

20. ἀγοραῖσι θακεῖ, πρὸς τε Παλλάδος διπλοῖς ναοῖς.

I would remove the comma after θακεῖ, regarding ἀγοραῖσι as governed by the reflected πρὸς, per schema Pindaricum.

40—5, νῦν τ', ὃ κρᾶτιστον πᾶσιν Οἰδῖπου κᾶρα,
 ἱκετεύομέν σε πάντες οἶδε πρόστροποι
 ἀλκὴν τιν' εὐρεῖν ἡμιν, εἴτε του θεῶν
 φημὴν ἀκούσας, εἴτ' ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς οἰσθᾶ που·
 ὥς τοῖσιν ἐμπείροισι καὶ τὰς ξυμφορὰς
 ζώσας ὁρῶ μάλιστα τῶν βουλευμάτων.

The ordinary version of the two lines last cited (given by the Scholiast, and followed both by Wunder and Schneidewin) is: "Since I perceive that to experienced men the results also of their counsels are most successful." I cannot regard the sense here given either to the word ζώσας, or to the phrase τὰς ξυμφορὰς τῶν βουλευμάτων, as good Greek: nor do I see that the emphatically placed particle καὶ has any force whatever according to this view. Logic halts as well as language; for what sense is there in saying, "Find us some help, whether God or man shew it you, for the counsels of the experienced have the best results"?

My explanation of this passage rests on the assumption that Sophocles is at liberty to use the verbal noun συμφορὰ in any abstract sense derivable from its primitive verb συμφέρω or συμφέρομαι. Its general sense is "occurrence," "event." Sometimes it implies "a happy occurrence:" but oftener it is used, by Greek euphemism, as a mild term for "calamity," like the expressions τὶ νέον, τὶ νεώτερον, and as we say, "something has happened to him." Sometimes it is to be rendered "dealing," from συμφέρεσθαι. Here I believe it is employed in the rarer but certainly admissible sense "comparison."

πιστοῖσι πιστὰ συμφέρειν βουλεύματα.

Æsch. *Pers.* 520.

I render then: "Since to men of experience I see that comparisons also of their counsels are most in vogue," i.e. "experienced men lay their heads together most." Thus we get for ζώσας its usual and proper meaning: we obtain force for the emphatic καί: we crown the whole passage with an apt and admirable sentiment. For observe the tenour of the speech from v. 31. The priest says to Œdipus, "We do not seek for aid, as deeming you the equal of the Gods, but as considering you the most skilful of men in dealing with all the events of life, ordinary and extraordinary. For it was you that relieved us from the oppression of the Sphinx, and that without any hint or instruction from us: you are supposed to have been aided by divine inspiration. So also now we beg you to discover some resource for us, whether supplied by a god, or acquired from some other man; and in this last suggestion there is nothing disparaging: for men of experience, like you, are not only the best counsellors, but also most accustomed to compare their counsels mutually, and therefore most likely to have learnt something from their neighbours."

49, 50, ἀρχῆς δὲ τῆς σῆς μηδαμῶς μεμνώμεθα
στάντες τ' ἐς ὀρθὸν καὶ πεσόντες ὕστερον.

I do not hesitate, with Wunder, to adopt the subjunctive μεμνώμεθα (pray let us not remember), and it is surprising that Schneidewin should defend the optative μεμνόμεθα on so weak a ground as that the subjunctive sounds like a disrespectful menace. But can μηδαμῶς be used with an optative? My impression is in the negative. Wunder connects the participles as well as the genitive with the verb: "Let us not remember your reign,—remember that we were," &c. This is a possible explanation; but is it not simpler to take the words, "let us not remember your reign by the fact of our having been raised to a prosperous position, and depressed afterwards"?

62, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑμῶν ἄλγος εἰς ἔν' ἔρχεται
μόνον καθ' αὐτὸν κοῦδέν' ἄλλον, ἢ δ' ἐμὴ
ψυχὴ πόλιν τε κάμει καὶ σ' ὁμοῦ στένει.

Wunder, following Elmsley, reads ἐν instead of ἔνα. It were well if either scholar had told us how to construe the passage with that reading. I hold it certain that the accusative οὐδένα ἄλλον does not depend upon κατά. Such phrases as καθ' αὐτόν, καθ' ἑκαστον, ἐπὶ πολὺ, ἐπὶ πλείστον, and the like, have the nature of single

words, and their prepositions cannot be shared with any other word. The meaning of the poet in this place is plain enough: but the terms in which he conveys it are somewhat puzzling, until we observe that he has used *ἄλγος* to express the motive or cause of grief rather than the feeling, just as in v. 337,

ὀργὴν ἐμέμψω τὴν ἐμήν—

he uses *ὀργή* to imply a disposition provoking anger, and not anger itself. Translate then: "for the cause of grief in your cases applies to each single person privately, and to no one else, whereas," &c.

- 86, O. *τὴν ἡμῖν ἥκει τοῦ θεοῦ φήμην φέρων;*
 K. *ἐσθλήν. λέγω γὰρ καὶ τὰ δύσφορ', εἰ τύχοι*
κατ' ὀρθὸν ἐξελθόντα, πάντ' ἂν εὐτυχεῖν.

Elmsley and Schneidewin remove the comma after *δύσφορα*. Wunder keeps it, and rightly. Schneidewin asserts (without assigning his reason), that *τὰ δύσφορα* must not be taken in connection with *εὐτυχεῖν*, and renders the two latter lines thus: "A good one: for I assert that, if the difficult things also should turn out happily, it (the oracle) would be wholly prosperous;" meaning, I suppose, that the oracle will be wholly favourable (and therefore entitled to the epithet *ἐσθλή*), if what there is in it of difficulty and unpleasantness should turn out happily as well as the rest of its contents. But in the terms of the oracle, as afterwards stated (96), there is nothing to justify us in dividing it into two portions, *τὰ δύσφορα* and *τὰ ἐσθλά*. The Thebans are simply commanded to expel a pollution existing in their city, and no clue is given whereby they may discover it. This is *δύσφορον* altogether; though capable of becoming *εὐτυχές* (*ἐσθλόν*), *εἰ τύχοι κατ' ὀρθὸν ἐξελθόν*, if they ultimately discover and expel the murderer of Laius. In the *δὺς* and *εὖ* it is impossible not to recognize a studied antithesis, which requires us to connect *δύσφορα* with *εὐτυχεῖν*. And the general maxim, which hence results, appears to give a much apter force to the passage. Render: "A good one: for I say that even forward things, if they eventually came right, would wholly deserve to be called toward." Such I suppose to be pretty nearly Wunder's interpretation also; but his note is not very clear on the point, and he cites, without condemning, the untenable notion of the Scholiasts, who make *πολὺν* or *ἡμᾶς* understood (!) the subject of *εὐτυχεῖν*.

- 99, O. ποίῳ καθαρμῶ; τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς ξυμφορᾶς;
 K. ἀνδρηλατοῦντας, ἢ φόνη φόνον πάλιν
 λύνοντας, ὥς τόδ' αἶμα χεϊμάζον πῶλιν.

Schneidewin and (I suppose) Wunder, with commentators in general, render τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς ξυμφορᾶς; "What is the nature of the mishap?" They suppose Œdipus to ask two questions here, one relating to the manner of purification, the other to the cause of pollution. And, in Creon's reply, they suppose ἀνδρηλατοῦντας . . . λύνοντας to answer the former, and ὥς . . . πῶλιν the latter question. This was so little satisfactory to Schneider, that, in his Lexicon, he gives to τρόπος the unusual and untenable sense, "mode of averting." I am rather inclined to find a less usual sense in the word ξυμφορᾶς (see my note on v. 44) from συμφέρεσθαι, and to render, "What is the mode of dealing with it?"

- 116, οὐδ' ἄγγελός τις οὐδὲ συμπράκτωρ ὁδοῦ
 κατεῖδ', ὅτου τις ἐκμαθὼν ἐχρήσατ' ἄν;

Both Schneidewin and Wunder raise difficulties here, which I am unable to appreciate. And the former proposes to read τακεῖ-θεν οὐ for κατεῖδ', ὅτου. All seems clear, if we interpret the second line thus: κατεῖδε (Δαῖον τῷδε συμπίπτοντα φόνη, v. 112) ὅτου τις ἐκμαθὼν (= εἰ ἐξέμαθεν) ἐχρήσατ' ἄν (τῇ μαθήσει).

Again I find none of Schneidewin's difficulties in v. 119, if we explain εἰδὼς emphatically—"with certain knowledge."

- 124, πῶς οὖν ὁ ληστής, εἴ τι μὴ ξὺν ἀργύρῳ
 ἐπράσσειε' ἐνθένδ', ἐς τόδ' ἄν τόλμης ἔβη;

Wunder comments here: "Id est: *nisi forte hinc* (i. e. ex hac urbe sive ab aliquo civi) *accepta pecunia conciliaretur* . . . Denique *τι* pronomen ad *εἰ* particulam spectat ita ut *εἴ τι μὴ* Latine sit '*nisi forte*.'" He seems to have supposed that πρᾶσσειν means "to bribe," and that the subject of ἐπράσσειτο is ληστής understood: "the robber was being bribed." This is quite erroneous. Πράσσειν means "to negotiate" or "intrigue," and the subject of ἐπράσσειτο (passive) is *τι*: "unless some intrigue were being conducted from this city with money:" i. e. "unless some bribery were going on." Mr Linwood correctly renders: "*nisi res hinc pecunia transacta esset*."

- 216, Αἰτεῖς, ἃ δ' αἰτεῖς, τᾶμ' εἰς ἐλθὼς ἔπη
 κλύων δέχεσθαι τῇ νόσφ' ὅ' ὑπηρετεῖν,
 ἀλκὴν λάβοις ἂν κἀνακούφισιν κακῶν.

ἀγὼ ξένος μὲν τοῦ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐξερῶ,
 ξένος δὲ τοῦ πραχθέντος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν μακρὰν
 ἔχνευον αὐτός, μὴ οὐκ ἔχων τι σύμβολον.
 νῦν δ', ὕστερος γὰρ ἀστὸς εἰς ἀστοὺς τελῶ,
 ὑμῖν προφωνῶ πᾶσι Καδμείοις τάδε·
 ὅστις ποθ' ὑμῶν Λαῖον τὸν Λαβδάκου
 κάποιδεν ἀνδρὸς ἐκ τίνος διώλετο,
 τοῦτον κελεύω πάντα σημαίνειν ἐμοί·
 κεῖ μὲν φοβεῖται, τοῦπίκλημ' ὑπεξελὼν
 αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ· πείσεται γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν
 ἀστεργές οὐδέν, γῆς δ' ἄπεισιν ἀβλαβής·
 εἰ δ' αὖ τις ἄλλον οἶδεν ἐξ ἄλλης χθονός
 τὸν αὐτόχειρα, μὴ σιωπάτω· τὸ γὰρ
 κέρδος τελῶ 'γώ, χῆ χάρις προσκίσεται.

This passage here stands as in MSS, rejecting the emendations of Schneidewin, Wunder, and others, none of which are necessary. Schneidewin errs in reading

ἢ γὰρ ἂν μακρὰν
 ἔχνευον αὐτός, οὐκ ἔχων τι σύμβολον,

Wunder in reading

ἢ 'ξ ἄλλης χερὸς for ἐξ ἄλλης χθονός.

In the interpretation of the first eight lines I agree generally with Wunder, except that I do not think it necessary to read αὐτός for ἀστὸς, as he, following Elmsley, does: nor would I render ἔχειν σύμβολον "*reperire indicium*," upon which mistranslation, Schneidewin's objection to μὴ οὐκ here, and to Wunder's view, is based. As in *Œd. Col.* 360, the words μὴ οὐχὶ δεῖμ' ἐμοὶ φέρουσά τι are an epexegetis of κενή, so here I take μὴ οὐκ ἔχων τι σύμβολον to be an epexegetis of μακράν, and the protasis, of which οὐκ ἂν μακρὰν ἔχνευον is the apodosis, I derive from the preceding clause, εἰ μὴ ξένος ἦν. In this view it is not necessary to construe ἔχων "finding," rather it would be foreign to my view to do so. Render them:

"You are praying, but—for the object of your prayers—if you choose to hear and receive my words and to be helpful in resisting the malady, you will obtain assistance and alleviation of your evils:—words which I shall utter as one who was a foreigner at the date of this story, and a foreigner at the time of the deed: for (had I not been a foreigner) I should not myself have carried on a protracted search, that is to say, without having some important clue (= I should soon have got some clue, and *having* it,

I should not have had to search long): but now, as I am a citizen entered at a subsequent time on the citizen-roll, I give this notice to all you native Cadmeans."

In v. 229, Schneidewin has printed *ἀσφαλῆς* instead of *ἀβλαβής*, by an oversight, I presume, as there is no pretext for such an alteration. In the interpretation of the six lines beginning *καὶ μὲν φοβείται*, Wunder has gone far astray from the true sense of both clauses. On the other hand, I cannot, with Schneidewin, render *ὑπεξελεῖν* to draw forth from the secrecy of the heart, and so "to avow" or "divulge." I can only take (as indeed Wunder does, though otherwise in error) the meaning "to remove secretly," "to suppress." No editor, I believe, has seen that the words *μη σιωπάτω* are common to the two clauses, that in which they occur, and the previous one. I therefore interpret these lines in the following manner: "And if, on the one hand, (the person among you who knows how Laius died is himself the criminal, and so) he is in a state of terror, having secretly withheld the accusation against himself, (let him not be silent on this account), for he shall suffer nothing else disagreeable, but shall depart from the land unscathed;—or if, on the other hand, he is one who knows another person of another country to be the murderer, let him not be silent (because he cannot produce him): for I will pay the reward (due to the informer), and the obligation shall be credited to him besides."

246, κατεύχομαι δὲ τὸν δεδρακότ', εἴτε τις
εἰς ὃν λεληθεν, εἴτε πλειόνων μέτα,
κακὸν κακῶς νυν ἄμορον ἐκτρίψαι βίον.
ἐπέύχομαι δ', οἴκοισιν εἰ ξυνέστιος
ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς γένοιτ' ἐμοῦ συνειδότος,
παθεῖν ἅπερ τοῖσδ' ἀρτίως ἡρασάμην.

For τοῖσδ' ἄρτιως, Schneidewin has substituted the conjectural emendation τοῖς αἰτίοις, producing an inelegant cæsura, which an editor should be slow to intrude into his author's text. And why does he emend? Because, he says, there is nothing to which τοῖσδε can be referred. Not in form perhaps; but, looking to the words εἴτε πλειόνων μέτα, we see that Œdipus has virtually cursed all the murderers, one or more; and in the preceding clause he launched an imprecation against the concealer of the crime: so that the plural τοῖσδε seems to have ample justification.

261, κοινῶν τε παίδων κοίν' ἄν, εἰ κείνῳ γένος
μὴ 'δυστύχησεν, ἣν ἂν ἐκπεφυκότα.

Κοινὰ παίδων is taken usually for a mere periphrasis = κοῖνοι παῖδες. So Schneidewin renders κοινὰ κοινῶν "gegenseitig geschwister." I consider κοινὰ to agree with γένῃ, reflected from γένος, and by "common generations of common children," I understand "children begotten by us from a common mother (κοινά), and so brethren to each other (κοινῶν)."

276, ὥσπερ μ' ἀραῖον ἔλαβες, ὦδ', ἄναξ, ἐρῶ.

My note here will be a digression from the criticism of Sophocles; but as it relates to a matter of great importance to classical instruction, I may perhaps be allowed to insert it. An edition of this play with English notes, small, cheap, and sure to get into the hands of learners, renders ἀραῖον ἔλαβες, "you have bound me by your curse." So again, v. 318, διώλεσα "have purposely (!) forgotten." A similar error is again and again repeated: and had the same editor rendered v. 280 δίκαι' ἔλεξας, no doubt he would have given, "you have said what is just." Now, if there be one inaccuracy in teaching more mischievous than another, it is the allowing the Greek aorist *ever* to be rendered by the English perfect. It is one of the worst errors in the authorized version of the Greek Testament, and a sufficient reason (were there not many more) why the Greek Testament should never be read in schools below the highest classes. The distinction between these tenses (aorist and perfect) is a fundamental principle in language; and the possession of separate forms for them is a valuable heritage of the Greek tongue, which the Latins unhappily lost, and the want of which modern languages have been obliged to supply by auxiliary verbs. This distinction, then, ought never to be obscured in teaching. A boy should never be allowed to use the verb "have" in rendering the Greek aorist. What, not, it will be said, in places where our idiom uses the perfect, and the Greek idiom used the aorist? Long experience of the great danger of the practice obliges me to answer, "no." How then are we to deal with the idiom δίκαι' ἔλεξας addressed to one who has just left off speaking? It would be unenglish to say in such a case, "you spoke justly." Granted. But it is not unenglish to say, "you speak justly:" and this version learners should be required to give in free idiomatic translation. It is

true that in this place—"you have justly spoken"—is also idiomatic, and might be given without impropriety, if the question went no further. But the reason why the one idiom may be allowed, whilst the other should be excluded, is, that the learner is in no danger of confounding the force of aorist and present, but incurs great risk of confusing aorist and perfect*.

279, τὸ δὲ ζήτημα τοῦ πέμψαντος ἦν
Φοίβου τόδ' εἰπεῖν, ὅστις εἰργασταί ποτε.

Wunder loosely renders ζήτημα, "investigatio." Schneidewin, more correctly, "die uns gestellte Aufgabe." The order of words is—τὸ δὲ ζήτημα τόδε, ὅστις εἰργασταί ποτε, ἦν τοῦ πέμψαντος Φοίβου εἰπεῖν.

282, τὰ δεύτερ' ἐκ τῶνδ' ἂν λέγοιμ', ἃ μοι δοκεῖ.

Schneidewin strangely supposes τὰ δεύτερα to mean—"a less important point than the detection of the murderer, but next in importance to this." Evidently the Chorus says: "I should like to mention what seems to me the alternative next best after this:"—viz. after the being instructed by Phœbus himself.

289, — πάλαι δὲ μὴ παρὼν θαυμάζεται.

Wunder writes, "ἰ. ε. μὴ παρῆναι αὐτὸν θαυμάζω." He is in error. Μὴ παρὼν = εἰ μὴ πάρεστι, which is the ordinary construction with verbs expressing wonder. Schneidewin has no note here.

294, ἀλλ' εἴ τι μὲν δὴ δειμάτός γ' (τ') ἔχει μέρος.

That some corruption lurks in this verse, MSS. shew as well as internal evidence. Wunder's conjecture τρέφει for τ' ἔχει is better than Schneidewin's untenable στέγει. But it seems more natural to read δειμάτων for δειμάτός τ'. Δείμα is more properly "a terror" than the abstract emotion of terror. And therefore δειμάτων μέρος may be said more justly than δειματος μέρος, as *Trach.* 149:

— λάβη τ' ἐν νυκτὶ φροντίδων μέρος.

A transcriber, not appreciating this, may have written δειματος for δειμάτων, and the τε or γε would have been afterwards added to prop the metre.

This conjecture is supported by *El.* 636:

ὅπως λυτηρίους
εὐχὰς ἀνάσχω δειμάτων ὧν νῦν ἔχω.

* The idiom in which it is most difficult to refrain from rendering the Greek Aorist by the English perfect, is that in which ἤδη is used. But instead of allowing ἤδη εἶδον to be rendered (as it might be), "ere now I have seen," I would have it expressed, "there were times when I saw."

Render then: "but if he is now enduring any amount of terrors (i. e. if the terrors of conscience are at all disturbing his mind), he will not hold out when he hears such a curse as yours was."

305, Φοῖβος γάρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ κλύεις τῶν ἀγγέλων.

Schneidewin calls εἰ καὶ μὴ "sinnwidrig" (contrary to sense), and reads εἰ μὴ καί. Dindorf and Wunder εἴ τι μὴ. It would seem as if these critics supposed εἰ καὶ *must* be rendered "although." But this is far from being the case; and I think the position of the words here may well be regarded as a Sophoclean hyperbaton = εἰ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων μὴ κλύεις, i. e. "I may mention this on the supposition that you have not heard it already from the messengers also." That the particles εἰ καὶ do not necessarily imply the fact, appears from many passages, as above 283 :

εἰ καὶ τρίτ' ἐστί, μὴ παρῆς τὸ μὴ οὐ φράσαι.

312, ῥῦσαι σεαντὸν καὶ πόλιν, ῥῦσαι δ' ἐμέ,
ῥῦσαι δὲ πᾶν μίasma τοῦ τεθνηκότος.

Schneidewin says that ῥῦσαι is used in a pregnant sense, and renders the second line: "rescue by removing every pollution," &c. Without denying the admissibility of such a pregnant use, yet, looking to the expression πᾶν μίasma, and to the genitive (τοῦ τεθνηκότος) connected with μίasma in a relation so different to that which appears in v. 97 (μίasma χώρας), I regard πᾶν μίasma τοῦ τεθνηκότος as equal to πᾶν τὸ λαβὼν μίasma τοῦ τεθνηκότος, "everything which has contracted pollution from the slain man." See v. 1012 :

ἢ μὴ μίasma τῶν φυτευσάντων λάβης ;

So ῥῦσαι retains the sense "deliver" or "rescue" in each clause.

317. Schneidewin has rightly seen that the γάρ in this verse explains φεῦ φεῦ.

325, — ὡς οὖν μηδ' ἐγὼ ταῦτ' ὅν πάθω.

Wunder and Schneidewin agree substantially in understanding σιγήσομαι, or οὐ λέγω τήνδε φάτιν. But the former suggests a break after πάθω, and the latter prints one, wishing to carry on the sense to the next speech of Tiresias. This I think unnecessary: the words τήνδ' ἀποστερῶ φάτιν being mentally supplied from the previous speech of Œdipus. Some editors, careless of grammar, understand φυλάσσομαι.

328,

— ἐγὼ δ' οὐ μήποτε
τᾶμ' ὥς ἂν εἴπω μὴ τὰ σ' ἐκφήνω κακά.

These enigmatical words of one (be it remembered) who is designed to speak enigmatically, have been variously emended, punctuated, tortured, and construed by commentators. If I accepted any emendation, it would be merely εἰπὼν for εἴπω, punctuating

ἐγὼ δ' οὐ μήποτε
τᾶμ', ὥς ἂν εἰπὼν μὴ τὰ σ' ἐκφήνω κακά—

understanding εἴπω in the former clause, reflected from εἰπὼν. But I am much more inclined to cut the knot by saying that the enigma lies in an unusually audacious collocation of the words, which the prophet utters slowly, heavily, under his breath, and unintelligibly, as appears from the succeeding question of Œdipus. The words, then, in their natural order, would be: ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ μήποτε εἴπω τὰμὰ (ἔπη) ὥς ἂν μὴ ἐκφήνω τὰ σὰ κακά.

356,

— τἀληθὲς γὰρ ἰσχύον τρέφω.

This

= τὸ ἀληθὲς δ' τρέφω ἰσχύει,

or

τὸ ἀληθὲς τρέφω καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἰσχύει.

Truth is mine, and Truth is strong.

415,

ἄρ' οἶσθ' ἀφ' ὧν εἰ καὶ λελήθας ἐχθρὸς ὧν
τοῖς σοῖσιν αὐτοῦ νέρθε κἀπὶ γῆς ὕνω;

Schneidewin very justly says, this is equivalent to

ἄρ' οἶσθ' ἀφ' ὧν ὧν λελήθας ἐχθρὸς ὧν κ.τ.λ.

But I think he should have removed, as I have done, the interrogation after εἰ.

420,

βοῆς δὲ τῆς σῆς ποῖος οὐκ ἔσται λιμὴν,
ποῖος Κιθαιρῶν οὐχὶ σύμφωνος τάχα,
ὅταν καταίσθῃ τὸν ὑμέναιον, ὃν δόμοις
ἄνορμον εἰσέπλευσας, εὐπλοίας τυχών;
ἄλλων δὲ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐπαισθάνει κακῶν,
ᾧ σ' ἐξισώσει σοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς σοῖς τέκνοις.

If the beauty and force of this dark speech of the excited seer be not felt by the reader, no criticism can help him. The best comment is a faithful verse translation.

“With the loud wailing of thy voice what shore,
What wild Cithæron shall not echo soon,
When thou shalt know the bridal-song, which erst
Unto a home without an anchorage

Bore thee full sail, from prosperous voyage bound.
Nor see'st thou yet of other ills a host,
Which to thyself, thy babes, shall level thee."

It is unnecessary to interfere with the purposed vagueness of the two last lines, by conjecturing

ὅσ' ἐξ ἴσου σοί τ' εἶσι καὶ τοῖς σοῖς τέκνοις.

449, — τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὃν πάλαι
ζητεῖς ἀπειλῶν κἀνακηρύσσων φόνον
τὸν Λαίειον, οὗτός ἐστιν ἐνθάδε
ξένος λόγῳ μέτοικος, εἴτα δ' ἐγγενὴς
φανήσεται Θηβαῖος.

I have removed the comma after ἐνθάδε, because (while other commentators take ἐστὶν ἐνθάδε as a full predicate, supplying ὦν with μέτοικος) I incline to think the construction is: οὗτός ἐστιν μέτοικος ἐνθάδε, (νῦν μὲν) λόγῳ ξένος, εἴτα δὲ (ἐγγῶ) φανήσεται Θηβαῖος. See *Œd. Col.* 934 :

εἰ μὴ μέτοικος τῆσδε τῆς χώρας θέλεις εἶναι.

457, φανήσεται δὲ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ξυνῶν
ἀδελφὸς αὐτὸς καὶ πατήρ.

Wunder and Schneidewin follow Schäfer and Erfurdt in reading αὐτός. I cordially concur with Elmsley and Linwood in preferring αὐτός.

579, ἄρχεις δ' ἐκείνη ταῦτ' ἄ γῆς ἴσον νέμων.

Schneidewin rightly interprets "rulest thou the land alike with her, yielding (her) equal (sway)?"

596, νῦν πᾶσι χαίρω, νῦν με πᾶς ἀσπάζεται,
νῦν οἱ σέθεν χρήζοντες αἰκάλλουσί με·
τὸ γὰρ τυχεῖν αὐτοὺς ἅπαν ἐνταῦθ' ἔνι.

Wunder wrongly interprets πᾶσι χαίρω, "I take delight in all." Schneidewin correctly, πάντες χαίρειν με κελεύουσιν, "all bid me hail," "all salute me." Both Wunder and Schneidewin adopt L. Dindorf's excellent emendation αἰκάλλουσι for ἐκκαλοῦσι. In the third line ἅπαντ' is the common reading. Perhaps Hermann's reading αὐτοῖσι πᾶν is best. "For herein (*i. e.* in courting me) lies for them all their success."

673, στυγνὸς μὲν εἶκων δῆλος εἶ, βαρὺς δ' ὅταν
θυμοῦ περάσῃς. αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται φύσεις
αὐταῖς δικαίως εἰσὶν ἀλγισται φέρειν.

Wunder and Schneidewin follow the Scholiast and Brunck in explaining, "with hatred indeed you evidently yield, but you

will be remorseful, when you have reached the term of your wrath." I more than doubt the correctness of this interpretation, (1) because I do not think *βαρὺς* can be used in the sense ascribed, (2) because it appears, from the yielding of *Cædipus*, that his *θυμός* is over, though it has left *στύγος* behind, and, if so, *βαρὺς* cannot refer to his future feeling. I do not, therefore, interpret *θυμοῦ περᾶν* "to come to the end of anger," but "to exceed in anger," "to be enraged beyond measure;" and I render, "You shew yourself malignant when you yield, and violent, when you are enraged." For the sense of *περᾶν*, see *Æd. Col.* 155, *περᾶς γὰρ περᾶς*. In short, *θυμοῦ περᾶν* = *θυμοῦσθαι πέρα δίκης*.

688, *τούμὸν παριείς καὶ καταμβλύνων κέαρ*.

Wunder and Schneidewin concur in putting a comma after *παριείς*, regarding *τούμὸν* and *κέαρ* as objects of the participles severally, but the former understands *τὸ σὸν κέαρ* ("neglecting my interest and weakening your affection"), the other, *τὸ ἐμὸν κέαρ* ("neglecting my interest and taking off the edge of my feeling"). I unhesitatingly dissent from both, and render: "disregarding and deadening the feelings of my heart;" i. e. "indifferent to, and disposed to suppress, my just resentment." That *κέαρ* would be used by the poet so nakedly as the German critics imagine, I cannot believe. In every other place he has joined with it the pronoun.

Trach. 629, ὥστ' ἐκπλαγῆναι τούμὸν ἡδονῇ κέαρ.
ib. 1246, τούμὸν εἰ τέρψεις κέαρ.
Aj. 686, τούμὸν ὧν ἐρᾷ κέαρ.
Æd. Col. 655, τούμὸν οὐκ ὀκνεῖ κέαρ.

698, Ἴοκ. πρὸς θεῶν δίδασκον καὶ ἀναξ, ὅτου ποτὶ
 μῆνιν τοσὴνδε πράγματος στήσας ἔχεις.
 Οἶδ. ἐρῶ· σὲ γὰρ τῶνδ' ὧ γύναι, πλεόν σέβω·
 Κρέοντος, οἷά μοι βεβουλευκῶς ἔχει.

Wunder prints these last two lines thus:

ἐρῶ (σὲ γὰρ τῶνδ' ἐς πλεόν, γύναι, σέβω)
 Κρέοντος οἷά μοι βεβουλευκῶς ἔχει.

explaining the last verse as equal to *Κρέοντος βουλευμάτα*, and as object of *ἐρῶ*. Schneidewin, though he does not print thus, seems to explain in the same way; for he merely annotates on v. 701, *Κρέοντος βουλευμάτα*. A strange "nodus in scirpo." It seems evident, reading the four lines consecutively, that v. 701 is a direct answer

to the question of Jocasta in 698, 9. She asks *δου πράγματος* *Œdipus* *μήνιν τούτῃδε στήσας ἔχει*. *Œdipus* replies: *Κρέοντος* (*μήνιν στήσας ἔχω*) *οἶά μοι βεβουλευκὼς ἔχει* (= *ὅτι τοιαῦτά μοι βεβουλευκὼς ἔχει*). "What are you so angry at?—At Creon, for having hatched such a plot against me." If it be said that *Κρέοντος*, a person, does not aptly correspond to *πράγματος*, a thing, I answer that such comparison of person and thing is quite in accordance with ancient idiom, and further, that *Κρέοντος*, *οἶά μοι βεβουλευκὼς ἔχει* = *τῶν βουλευμάτων τοιούτων οἶά μοι βεβουλευκὼς ἔχει Κρέων*. Dindorf and Linwood rightly give, "*Κρέοντος*. Respondet genitivo *δου* v. 698."

728, *ποίας μερίμνης τοῦθ' ὑποστραφεῖς λέγεις*;

Wunder takes *ὑποστραφεῖς* as merely = *φροντίζων*, which is rather *ἐπιστραφεῖς*. Schneidewin more justly understands a sudden start to be implied, but explains "turning sharp round (from carelessness) to care (*μερίμνης*)." I am more disposed to think that the genitive *μερίμνης* connected with *ὑποστραφεῖς* expresses that *from* which, or at least that *on account of* which the speaker shrinks back with a sudden start.

"From what dire thought sharp-shrinking speak'st thou thus."

794, — *τὴν Κορινθίαν*
ἄστροις τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκμετρούμενος χθόνα
ἔφηνον ἔνθα κ.τ.λ.

Schneidewin is, I think, wrong in making *χθόνα* the object of *ἔφηνον*. I would connect it with *ἐκμετρούμενος* only. *Œdipus*, being at Delphi at the time, could not well be said *φεύγειν τὴν Κορινθίαν χθόνα*. He "fled to *any* place where he might not see," &c.

1084, *τοιόσδε δ' ἐκφύς οὐκ ἂν ἐξέλθοιμ' ἔτι*
ποτ' ἄλλος, ὥστε μὴ ἔκμαθεῖν τοῦμὸν γένος.

This passage has not been rightly understood, I believe, by any commentator. Linwood, indeed, has no note. Schneidewin reads *ἄλλος*, and explains (not essentially differing from Wunder and Neue), "I shall never be otherwise inclined, viz. so as not to discover my origin." But the true sense is as follows. *Œdipus*, having learnt that he is a foundling, takes refuge from the obscurity of his birth in the glory of his career, and calls himself "The son of bounteous Fortune." Then, in these two concluding lines (with reference to Jocasta's dissuasion, which he ascribes to family pride), he says: "Such being my nativity (*i. e.* having Fortune for my mother), I shall never turn out a different

man (*i. e.* I shall never be proved to be other than the child of Fortune), so as not to discover (*i. e.* so as to have a motive for refusing to discover) my descent." Thus (Obs. III.) Œdipus persists in proud self-assertion to the very edge of his fall, and boasts himself Fortune's child at the moment before he learns that he is the inheritor of misery.

1225, οἶμαι γὰρ οὐτ' ἂν Ἰστρον οὔτε Φᾶσιν ἂν
νύφαι καθαρμῶ τήνδε τὴν στέγην, ὅσα
κεύθει τὰ δ' αὐτίκ' εἰς τὸ φῶς φανεί κακὰ
ἐκόντα κοῦκ ἄκοντα.

Wunder finds difficulties here from not perceiving, what Schneidewin has seen, that τὰ μὲν is to be supplied, per schema Pindaricum, with κεύθει.

"I ween nor Ister, nor the Phasis' stream
Can cleanse this roof by washing from the ills
Which now it part conceals, and part shall bring
Forthwith to light, a voluntary troop."

1271, αὐδῶν τοιαῦθ', ὁθούνεκ' οὐκ ὀψοινοτό νιν
οὐθ' οἱ' ἔπασχεν οὐθ' ὅποι' ἔδρα κακά,
ἀλλ' ἐν σκότῳ τὸ λοιπὸν οὗς μὲν οὐκ ἔδει
ὀψοίαθ', οὗς δ' ἔχρηζεν οὐ γνωσοίατο.

Wunder and Schneidewin have most unwisely adopted Hermann's conjecture ὀψαίνοτο, seduced by the sense they *think* arises, viz. "that, *because* they had not seen, &c., at least (ἀλλά) they should see, &c."

The motive ought indeed to be strong, which should induce us to intrude into Attic tragedy a form, of which the supposed instances, even in the old Epic dialect, are very dubious. Were the verb itself a rare one, the conjecture might be more plausible. But, as the verb of seeing is one of the commonest in the language, as the forms ὀψομαι, ὀπωπα, ὤφθην, and again ὁρῶ, εἶδον, &c. meet us so often in tragedy, it is impossible to imagine that ὀψάμην would not have appeared often, were it admissible at all. I deem it therefore inadmissible.

Again, I conceive that, in the sense sought, not the aorist optative, but the Imperfect is wanted, the past time referred to being long-continued. Sophocles then would have written δέρκοιντο, and, if I felt the need of obtaining that sense, I should rather conjecture the certain epic form ὄσσοιντο, than the very doubtful one ὀψαίνοτο.

But I have not less strong objections on the score of syntax. It may not be much (but it is something) to say, that the only optative with which ὁδοῦνεκα is elsewhere found (and in its sense of *that*, not *because*) is the future optative. *Æd. Col. 944*:

ἤδη δ' ὁδοῦνεκ' ἄνδρα καὶ πατρόκτονον
κἀναγνον οὐ δεξοίατ', οὐδ' ὅτ' γάμοι
ξυνόντες εὐρέθησαν ἀνόσιοι φίλων.

But I feel assured that, if a past optative stood in the primary dependence (as this imaginary ὄψαιτο), then the subdependent verbs must be optative also, and not indicative, as ἔπασχεν, ἔδρα are here. Most of my readers are probably aware that the optative of the future is not constructed as other optatives (in protasis or apodosis or in subdependent clauses), but stands merely for the indicative of the future in primary dependence on historical tenses. For this reason it does not require optatives in subdependence, but indicatives; (here we have ἔπασχεν, ἔδρα, ἔδει, ἔχρηζεν, and in *Æd. Col. 945*, εὐρέθησαν.) Therefore ὁδοῦνεκα ὄψαιτο would be erroneous in subdependence on ὄψοίτο. For these reasons I have no hesitation in rejecting the fictitious ὄψαιτο, or any other past optative in this place. Render: "speaking to this effect; that they (his eyes) should not see either what evils he was enduring, or what he was doing, but in darkness henceforth should see those he would not, and not recognize those he would." To interpret minutely the second clause, would be little in accordance with the spirit of Sophocles, who has wrapt the sense in awful mystery. *Edipus*, when blind, would not recognize his dear living children; but his darkened eyes would be haunted by unwelcome visitors from the world of darkness.

1463, αἶν οὖ ποθ' ἡμῇ χωρίς ἐστάθη βορᾶς
τράπεζ' ἄνευ τοῦδ' ἀνδρός.

That corruption exists here, is next to certain, and probably in the words ἡμῇ χωρίς, or in ἡμῇ alone. Schneidewin conjectures οἷαν for ἡμῇ. Ἄλλη or ἀμῆς or ἡμῶν would any of them be more probable. I have sometimes thought that the two words ἡμῇ χωρίς might be corrupted from ἡμίχωρις or from an adjective compounded of ἡμί, and agreeing with τράπεζα, as ἡμίμεστος or ἡμίδουλος. If there were any reason to suppose that dishes went from the parental table to that of the children, we might venture on ἡμίβρωτος (gen.) agreeing with βορᾶς. This would be in accordance with what follows:

ἀλλ' ὅσων ἐγὼ
ψαύοιμ, πάντων τῶνδ' αἰεὶ μεττειχέτην.

1476, γνούς τήν παρούσαν τέρψιν, ἥ σ' εἶχεν πάλαι.

Wunder, mistaking these words, badly reads ἥσ' ἔχει πάλαι*. Schneidewin appears to understand them rightly, though somewhat vague in his translation. Erfurdt and Linwood correctly: "quum ex ea voluptate, quam olim percepisti, conjecturam fecissem de præsenti."

1494, τοιαῦτ' ὀνειδή λαμβάνων, ἃ τοῖς ἐμοῖς
γονεῦσιν ἔσται σφῶν θ' ὁμοῦ δηλήματα.

Schneidewin says that σφῶν τε following ἐμοῖς would mean, "and to your parents." He reads, therefore, τοῖσδε τοῖς for τοῖς ἐμοῖς. In so doing, he has shewn himself blind to the true force of these words. Sophocles meant Œdipus to represent all the disgrace of his family, retrospective and prospective, as derived from himself. In ordinary parlance, therefore, he would have said, ἃ δηλήματα ἔσται τοῖς ἐμοῖς (the emphatic word) γονεῦσί τε καὶ τέκνοις ὁμοῦ. But instead of καὶ τέκνοις, this great master of tragic effect has beautifully substituted σφῶν τε:—"Which will be sullyng imputations to, (all who are) mine, to my parents, and at the same time to you (my two children)." In this substitution there is also another purpose, viz. to limit the fatherly concern of Œdipus to his daughters. His comparative indifference to his sons had been declared before (1459); and the poet had his mind turned to the events of the Œdipodean myth, as developed afterwards in his Œdipus Coloneus. Were I to desire any emendation, it would be γονεῦσί τ' for γονεῦσιν.

In the close of this paper, let me recur for a moment to the fault found with this noble drama by Voltaire and others, on account of the ignorance which Œdipus exhibits of the events before his accession to the throne. This ignorance would not seem to an ancient Athenian so improbable as it does to us. Historical documents did not exist in the days of Œdipus: and that peculiarly strong superstition of the Greeks which restrained them from the mention of evil,

* In the edition of Sophocles among the new Teubner classics I regret to see this erroneous reading adopted, as well as ἄλλοσε in v. 1085, and αὐτὸς in v. 458. But αἰματοῦσ' in v. 1279 is probably right.

(εὐφημον ἡμᾶρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγγέλῳ
γλώσση μαίνειν)

would prevent the subjects of Œdipus, and not least his queen, from glooming the morn of the new king's reign by allusion to the bloody sunset of his predecessor. The interregnum of the Sphinx would tend also to diminish the importance attached to the obscure details of Laius's death. See 130.

ἡ ποικιλωδὸς Σφίγξ τὰ πρὸς ποσὶ σκοπεῖν
μεθίντας ἡμᾶς τὰφανῇ προσήγετο.

Regarding the subject from a Greek point of view, we find no reason to disparage the plot of this great tragic masterpiece*.

B. H. KENNEDY.

III.

S. Clemens Alex. on New Testament Chronology.

IN the first book of the *Stromata* (ch. 21. § 101—143) Clement goes into a long chronological detail, designed to prove that Moses and the Prophets lived long before the rise of Grecian Philosophy. To this in § 144 he appends an outline of Roman chronology, from Augustus to the death of Commodus, "in order to set forth the times of our Saviour." This outline consists (1) of the Augustan section of the well-known "Astronomical Canon," differing, however, by the insertion of one year for the reigns of Galba, Otho and Vitellius between Nero and Vespasian, (2) of a list of reigns in years, months and days, from Julius Cæsar, also to the death of Commodus. Then (§ 145) he argues as follows: (I number the statements, for convenience of reference)—

(1) "Our Lord was born in the 28th year, when they first ordered the *ἀπογραφὰι* to be held under Augustus." The year meant is the 28th Augustan year of the Alexandrians, beginning with the fixt or moveable 1 Thoth = 29 or 24 August B. C. 3, *Æ. Nab.* 746.

* Reconsidering Schneidewin's somewhat vague note on *Antig.* 31, 2, I now

think he has not adopted the interpretation I ascribed to him in No. II.

(2) "This is proved by Luke iii. 1: *In the 15th year of Tiberius*"—the year beginning with the fixt or moveable 1 Thoth = 29 or 16 Aug. A. D. 28, Æ. Nab. 776 — "*the word of the Lord came to John the Baptist, and iii. 21, 23, our Lord, coming to his baptism was about thirty years old.* Moreover, he preached for the space of one year, as foretold by Isaiah lxi. 1. (cf. Luke iv. 19): πεντεκαδεκάτῃ οὖν ἔτει Τιβερίου καὶ πεντεκαδεκάτῃ Ἀγούστου [Clement doubtless wrote *ἐ' οὖν ἔτη Τ.*, καὶ *ἐ' ἔτη Ἀγ.*] οὕτω πληροῦται τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἕως οὗ ἔπαθεν."

(3) "From the Passion (ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἔπαθεν) to the destruction of Jerusalem are 42y. 3m."

(4) "And thence to the death of Commodus 128y. 10m. and 3d."

(5) "The sum, therefore, from the Nativity to the death of Commodus is 194y. 1m. 13d."

In (4) for ρκα' we must read ρκα', 121, which is the number of years required, and also expressed in § 140 for the interval from the destruction of Jerusalem to the death of Commodus. Also in ἡμέραι γ' we must restore the numeral iota absorbed by the final iota of the noun: ἡμέραι ιγ'. So the sum of 30y., 42y. 3m., and 121y. 10m. 13d. becomes 194y. 1m. 13d., as expressed in (5).

In (2) and (3) there is this manifest inconsistency, that the Baptism and the Passion are assigned to the same year, = 15 Tiberius, and the "one year" of our Lord's ministry is not included in the summation—an error which, as Mr Clinton justly remarks, F. R. s. a. 29, "is not palliated by the explanation of Pagi adv. Baron. t. i. p. 19." Mr Clinton suggests the correction, ἔτη μα' (for μβ') μῆνες γ'. For reasons which will appear in the sequel, I do not adopt this alteration.

In the nature of the case, it is probable that the form of year employed by Clement in this enumeration is the vague year of the Astronomical Canon or Æra of Nabonassar, that being the instrument commonly used in his age and country in the treatment of astronomical questions, and the question relative to the date of our Lord's Passion being such*. And in fact Clement sets out with the canon, § 144.

* In this form of year 'the cycle of Apis' (= 25 vague years) was a highly convenient instrument for the calculation of lunar dates, more so, in fact, than the Metonic cycle and Callippic

period for the Julian year, namely, $25 \times 365 = 9125$ days exceeding only by 0.048 d. the sum of 309 mean lunations (= 9124.9519 d.)

On this supposition, the 194 y. 1 m. 13 d. ending at the death of Commodus, i. e. 31 Dec. 192 = 29 Mechir *Æ. Nab.* 940 reach up to 16 Tybi *Æ. Nab.* 746, which day = 6 Jan. B. C. 2 and = 11 Tybi of the 28th *fixt* Augustan year beginning 29 Aug. B. C. 3. An interesting result: for 6 Jan. = 11 Tybi *fixt* was in very early times the received date of our Lord's *Baptism*, which, accordingly, is still commemorated on the Feast of Epiphany*. Hence this same day was by some assigned to the *Nativity*, and it is retained as such by Epiphanius, *Exposit. fid.* § 22. cf. *Hær.* 51, § 24, 29, though he refers the Baptism to a different day of the Calendar (8 Nov.). Clement indeed does not pretend to assign the exact day of the *Nativity*, but by giving the sum in years, months, and

* Undoubtedly the Baptism was the original subject of celebration. It was not till a later time that other "manifestations" of our Lord's glory were drawn into the scope of this festival. S. Hieronym. in *Ezech.* 1: "Hæc dies significat Baptisma, in quo aperti sunt Christo coeli, et Epiphaniarum dies huc usque venerabilis est; non, ut quidam putant, natalis in carne: tunc enim absconditus est, et non apparuit, quod huic tempori congruit, quando dictum est, Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacui." In the African Church, in S. Augustine's time, the principal subject of commemoration was the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles, *Serm.* 202—204, t. v. 914, which, without adverting to its other characters, he enforces against the Donatists by whom this feast was not acknowledged. The diversity of the tradition on this subject is noted in the sermons (probably of Maximus) in Opp. S. Augustin. t. v. App. 240, "nonnulli hodie Dominum nostrum stella duce venientibus ab Oriente Magis æstimant adoratum; alii autem asserunt eum aquas in vina mutasse; quidam vero baptizatum illum a Joanne confirmant," S. 134; to which S. 136 adds, "sive quod de quinque panibus quinque millia hominum satiauit:" but S. 135 dwells only on the Baptism: "Necdum ortus est ejus expleta festivitas, et jam baptismatis ejus

est celebranda solemnitas... Natalis ergo hodie alter est quidam modo Salvatoris... Præclarior plane est secunda quam prima nativitas." In fact, as the terms 'First' and 'Second Epiphany' were respectively applied to the *Nativity* and the Baptism, so the Epiphany was often spoken of as the 'Second Nativity.' As Montf. remarks in *Præmon. ad Hom. in diem nat. Chr.*, S. Chrysost. Opp. t. II. 354: "Apud Occidentales nonnisi post Epiphaniæ solemnitatem Natalis Domini festum institutum fuerat: indeque erat quod in Occidente et in urbe Roma Natali potior Epiphania haberetur, ut legitur in veteri ordine Romano: *Nec hoc prætereundum est, quod secunda Nativitas Christi (= Epiphania), tot illustrata mysteriis, honoratior sit quam prima (sc. Natalis).*"—In the Eastern Church we find S. Chrysostom in the sermon de Baptismo preached on the feast of Epiphany, A. D. 387, speaking of the Baptism alone as the subject of commemoration. "Ὅτι μὲν οὖν Ἐπιφάνεια ἡ παροῦσα λέγεται ἑορτὴ δὴλόν ἐστι πᾶσι—ἀλλὰ τίνος ἕνεκεν οὐχὶ ἡ ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν ἐτέχθη, ἀλλ' ἡ ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν ἐβαπτίσθη Ἐπιφάνεια λέγεται; Αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν ἐβαπτίστατο, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων ἡγλάσε φύσιν: illustrated by the mention of a custom of drawing water at midnight of that festival, which shews the antiquity of this celebration.

days of the interval between the Baptism (confused, however, in his recital, with the Passion) and the death of Commodus, he implicitly assigns the very day of the Baptism (= 16 Tybi vague of 15 Tiberius), and the entire sum which he expresses (194y. 1m. 13d.) leads up to a day which lies (1) thirty vague years before that day, (2) thirty Julian years before the received fixt date of the Baptism when referred to the 15 Tiberius, i. e. before 6 Jan. = 11 Tybi A. D. 29.

After a slighting mention (§ 145 fin.) of certain persons who "over-curiously assign to our Saviour's Nativity not only its year, but its day, which they say is the 25th Pachon in the 28th year of Augustus," he remarks, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου* καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐορτάζουσι προδιανυκτερεύοντες ἀγανώσσει. φασὶ δὲ εἶναι τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος τοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, τὴν πεντεκαιδεκάτην τοῦ Τυβι μηνός, τινὲς δὲ αὐτὴν ἐνδεκάτην τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός. Compare with this the date resulting from Clement's enumeration: 42y. 3m. plus 121y. 10m. 13d. lead up, from the specified goal, not to the *fifteenth*, but to the *sixteenth* of Tybi. But perhaps the date "fifteenth Tybi" instead of *sixteenth*, arose from confusion with the "*fifteenth* of Tiberius:" or, which I think more likely, the date 15 Tybi relates to the vigil, and so the expressions αὐτὴν [τὴν?] ἐνδεκάτην may mean that some assigned the day *itself* of the Baptism, not its vigil, to the 11 Tybi. At any rate, we seem here to find the explanation of the double date assigned by the persons mentioned by Clement. For (1) if the Baptism be referred to 16 Tybi vague of 15 Tiberius (A. D. 28, 29), thirty *vague* years lead up to 16 Tybi vague = 11 Tybi fixt and 6 Jan. of 28 Augustus (B. C. 2). And, conversely, (2) the Baptism being assigned to A. D. 29 (15 Tiberius) 6 Jan. = 11 Tybi fixt, 30 *Julian* years lead up to B. C. 2 (28 Augustus) 6 Jan. and 11 Tybi fixt = 16 Tybi vague.

But it is also worth remarking, that the 11 Tybi *vague* of the 15th Tiberius is the 25 December (A. D. 28), just thirty Julian years after the Nativity, if this was referred to 28 Augustus (B. C. 3) and to the day which the Church ultimately consecrated to the commemoration of the Nativity. I do not believe that the

* Neander thinks the feast of Epiphany was first instituted in commemoration of the Baptism and Manifestation of Jesus as the Messiah by the Jewish Christians of Syria and Palestine (*Gnost. Syst.* and *K. G.* 2. 655), and adopted

from them by the Basilidians: Gieseler, that it was first introduced by the Basilidians as feast of the Baptism and of the union of the *νοῦς* with the man Jesus which then took place, *K. G.* 1. 142.

date 11 Tybi for the Baptism originated in this way, but, unless the relation is purely accidental—which one can hardly suppose—I think it probable that the Calendar-date 25 December for the Nativity, which is of comparatively late introduction*, was

* In A.D. 386, when S. Chrysostom preached his Sermon *in d. Natalem*, t. II. 354, the celebration of the Nativity on the 25 Dec. was quite recent, having been introduced at Antioch not ten years before: οὕτω δέκατόν ἐστιν ἔτος ἐξ οὗ δῆλη καὶ γνώριμος ἡμῶν αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα γεγενῆσθαι. It came from the West, where, he argues, or rather assumes, it had been long known—though there is not a trace of it in the Western Church before the middle of the fourth century. In the Church of Jerusalem, two centuries later, the Nativity was still celebrated on the 6th January, as we learn from a curious passage of Cosmas (A.D. 576) in his *Topographia*, where he says that “they of Jerusalem celebrate the Nativity on the feast of Epiphany (6 Jan.), rightly gathering from S. Luke, that our Lord was precisely 30 years old, ἀρχόμενος ἐτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα, on the very day of his Baptism: the Church, however, for the purpose of securing a due commemoration of both events, appointed the 25 Dec. for the celebration of the Nativity, interposing a period of twelve days in honour of the twelve Apostles.” In Egypt, down to A.D. 430, as also in Cyprus (Epiphan. *hær.* 51. § 29) the Nativity and the Baptism continued to be celebrated on the 6 Jan. “Intra Ægypti regionem—Epiphaniorem diem vel dominici baptismi vel secundum carnem nativitatis esse definiunt, et idcirco utriusque sacramenti solemnitatem non bifarie, ut in occiduis provinciis, sed sub una diei hujus festivitàte concelebrant.” Cassian. *Collat.* x. 2. And so perhaps in Gaul, as may appear on comparing Ammian. Marcell. xxi. 2, (of Julian in A.D. 360): “feriarum die quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani Epiphania dicitant,

progressus in eorum (Viennensium) ecclesiam, sollemniter numine adorato discessit,” with Zonaras, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς γαλεθλίου τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμέρας ἐφεστηκυίας εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ναόν, καὶ προσκυνήσας ἵνα ὁμόδοξος τοῖς στρατιώταις δοκῇ, ἀπῆλθε.—The day, 25 Dec., when introduced, was recommended by a mystical fitness, as being the day of the winter solstice, the turning-point of the year after which the days begin to lengthen: thus S. Greg. Nyss. t. II. 772. ἡμέρα... ἐν ᾗ μειοῦσθαι τὸ σκότος ἀρχεται... οὐ συντυχικὴ τις γέγονε κατὰ τὸ αὐτόματον ἢ τοιαύτη περὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν οἰκονομία. So S. Augustin. *Enarr. in Psal.* cxxxii. § 11. “Ille (Joannes) natus est, sicut tradit Ecclesia, octavo kalendas Julias, cum jam incipiunt minui dies: Dominus autem natus octavo kalendas Januarias, quando jam incipiunt crescere.” But I do not believe that the day was chosen on that account, still less that it was derived from the Roman brumal feast the *Natalis Invicti* (sc. Solis) on the 24-5 Dec. (Wernsdorf, *de orig. solemn. nat. Chr. ex festivitàte Natalis Invicti*, and against him, Augusti *Denkw.* i. 223).—The notion that Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, was high-priest, and the day of his vision the Day of Atonement, was probably derived from the assumption that the day of the Nativity was 25 December, in support of which we then find it urged, e.g. S. Chrysost. u. s. p. 362, and Cosmas u. s. Namely, it was assumed that the periods noted in Luke i. are: six or seven days, v. 23, 24; six months entire to the Annunciation, v. 26, 36; nine months to the Nativity: the sum, 15 months and about one week, to end at 25 Dec. B.C. 2 (which in the fourth century was often assigned as the year of the Nativity), would begin

originally obtained by taking the fixt, Julian equivalent for the 11 Tybi of 15 Tiberius, supposed to belong to the moveable year.

The year to which the most ancient writers usually assign the Crucifixion of our Lord is the 15th of Tiberius, *Coss. duobus Geminis* = A. D. 29. In the Western Church, the consent to this year is all but general. In the Eastern Church, the same year is either named or implied in the two earliest extant testimonies, that of Clement in our passage, and that of Julius Africanus. This has been abundantly shown elsewhere, and it is needless to repeat the evidence. But if the year was A. D. 29, the day, being 14 Nisan, would be either 16 April, which, however, was a Saturday, or 18 Mar. which was a Friday, and so verifies the conditions. The early Latin writers place it a week later, Friday 25 Mar., a date originally obtained by the use of faulty paschal cycles, but recommended by its coincidence with the day (as received in the early centuries of our era) of the Vernal Equinox: but that the genuine paschal date 18 Mar. was known and received at an earlier period is shown (1) by the fact that in the Canon of Hippolytus (A. D. 221) the *paschal terminus* was set at 18 March, (2) that in Epiphanius's time there were copies of the so-called *Acta Pilati*, in which the Passion was assigned to 15 kal. April. = 18 Mar., though most of the copies exhibited the date 8 kal. April. = 25 Mar. (*Hæc.* i. 420). It should also be premised, that, according to a statement preserved by Origen (*Hom. in Jer.* xiv. and c. *Cels.* iv. 22) and often repeated by later writers, the interval from the Passion to the destruction of Jerusalem (mistakenly assigned to A. D. 71) was forty-two years. It is probable that a period of exactly that length was intended, namely, from the passover-day on which our Lord suffered, to the day on which the siege of Jerusalem began with the appearing of Titus and the Roman armies under the walls of the city, which day according to Josephus was "the very day of the Passover" (the interval from A. D. 29, just 41 *Jewish* years*).

18 or 19 Sept. B. C. 3, in which year the 10th day of Tisri, or Day of Atonement, did in fact fall on 18 or 19 September, as would be easily ascertained from the more correct cycles which were in use in the fourth century. And this arrangement was recommended by the

mystical considerations above adverted to, namely that the conception and nativity of the Baptist were thereby assigned to the days of autumnal equinox and summer solstice, of Christ to the vernal equinox and winter solstice.

* The interval was made forty-two

Now Clement's period (3) of 42y. 3m. "from the Passion"—it should have been said "from the Baptism"—to the destruction of Jerusalem, leads from 16 Tybi *Æ. Nab.* 776 to 16 Pharmuthi *Æ. Nab.* 818 = 19th March *A. D.* 71, precisely 42 Julian years not indeed from 18 but from 19 March (which was 15 Nisan) of *A. D.* 29. Nay, the exact day is involved if the 42y. 3m. are reckoned from the 15th Tybi, the day mentioned in the text of Clement.

But again, in a different connexion (§ 140), Clement has given us the interval "from the destruction of Jerusalem to the death of Commodus 121 years, 6 months and 24 days." This statement evidently belongs to a different computation, and is not necessarily to be referred to the vague year. In the *Julian reckoning* it reaches (according as months or days are counted first) to 6 or 7 June *A. D.* 71 (= 5 or 6 Epiphi *Æ. Nab.* 818): and the term of 42y. 3m. (of course moveable, as before) gives as the date of the Passion 5 or 6 Pharmuthi *Æ. Nab.* 776 = 18 or 19 Mar. *A. D.* 29. The former calculation gave us 19 Mar. *A. D.* 71 as the Julian anniversary, in that year, of the Passion (or of 15 Nisan): the present yields the same day as the precise day of the Passion itself in *A. D.* 29, and exactly verifies the statement ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἔπαθεν ἔτη μβ', μῆνες γ'. Clement does not himself express the date; he does not take the trouble to work out the calculation: had he done so, he might have discovered the confusion into which he has fallen between (1) a period of 42 (upon his own showing it should have been 43) years and 3 months *from the Baptism* to a day which was 42 Julian years from 18-19 Mar. *A. D.* 29, and (2) a period of the same length *from the Passion* 18-19 Mar. *A. D.* 29 to the destruction of Jerusalem.

Some, however, did take the pains which he thought superfluous. Τό τε πάθος αὐτοῦ ἀκριβολογούμενοι φέρουσιν οἱ μὲν τινες τῇ ἑκκαίδεκάτῃ ἔτει Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Φαμενώθ κέ', οἱ δὲ Φαρμουθὶ κέ'. ἄλλοι δὲ Φαρμουθὶ 18 πεπονθέναι τὸν Σωτῆρα λέγουσι. ναὶ μὴν τινες αὐτῶν φασὶ Φαρμουθὶ γεγενῆσθαι κδ' ἢ κέ'.

The first two of these dates I explain thus. The computists saw that, if the Baptism belonged to the 15th, the Passion must

years, and the fall of Jerusalem thereby assigned to *A. D.* 71, perhaps in consequence of the insertion of an entire

year for Galba Otho and Vitellius between Nero and Vespasian, § 144.

be assigned to the 16th year of Tiberius: consequently, that, if the paschal date for the former year was 6 Pharmuthi, the date for the latter year would be given by counting 12 lunations, or 354 (= 365 - 11) days forward: these would lead to 25 *Phame-noth* of 16 Tiberius. It would be perceived, however, that this day (= 8 Mar. A. D. 30), besides being too early for the passover, would fall on a Wednesday. The addition of another month, of 30 days, would lead to a Friday, namely, 25 *Pharmuthi* (= 7 April A. D. 30). The other date, "19 Pharmuthi," I cannot explain: but if we read *Φαρμουθι θ* (rejecting the iota of the numeral as derived from the final iota of *Φαρμουθι*), the date (as before, in the vague year) will be 22 March, precisely the day assigned to the Crucifixion in the synodical letter (ap. Bed. *de Æquinoc.*) of the Council of Cæsarea in Palestine (cf. Eus. *H. E.* v. 23), held in A. D. 195, i. e. in Clement's own times. The dates assigned to the Nativity, 24 or 25 Pharmuthi = 14 or 15 April, and (in § 144) 25 Pachon = 15 May I am unable to explain.

Concerning the day 11 Tybi = 6 Jan., Jablonsky in his *Dissert. de Origine festi Nativ. Christi in eccl. Chr. quotannis stato die celebrari soliti* (Opp. t. III. p. 317) supposes that the Basilidians assigned the Theophania, Epiphania (viz. the Baptism) to that day, because it was the annual solemnity of the *Inventio Osiridis*, when the people throughout Egypt "accepto nuntio de invento jam Osiride exclamare solebat, εὐρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν." As a kind of protest and security against the superstition of the heathen, Basilides transformed this solemnity into a Christian festival: as at a later time, after this example, in the Western Church the 25 Dec. was rescued from the heathen celebration of the *Natalis Solis Invicti* to be consecrated to the Nativity of our Lord. But it is very improbable (though Gieseler, I. 154, 302, favours the hypothesis) that a festival invented by Gnostics would be adopted by the orthodox, and far more likely (as Neander supposes) that Basilides borrowed it from the Church. But there is nothing in the Gospel narrative to fix the exact day of our Lord's Baptism, and it is scarcely supposable that it was recorded by any historical tradition. I venture to suggest that the date 6 Jan. was originally obtained by a speculative consideration of the prophetic numbers of Daniel, ix. 25, "And after sixty-two weeks shall Messiah be cut off... And in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice to cease," &c. Now if from 18 Mar. A. D. 29

we measure back $62\frac{1}{2}$ weeks of days = 434 + $3\frac{1}{2}$, these will bring us to 6 January A.D. 28. But again, from any given 16 Tybi (vague) to 25 Phamenoth of the following year, are precisely (365 + 69 =) 434 days, or sixty-two weeks. If then the date 11 Tybi (fixt), which I suppose to have been the original date, was obtained by measuring back *sixty-two weeks and half a week* from the hour of our Lord's death on the Passover-day of the year 15 Tiberius, i. e. from cir. 3 p. m. of 18 Mar. A.D. 29, the other date, preferred, as it seems, by most of the Basilidians, viz. 16 Tybi, would be obtained by measuring back *sixty-two weeks* from the Passover-day of 16 Tiberius; which day being assumed in the first instance as 25 Phamenoth (vague), the epoch would be "the sixteenth day of Tybi of the fifteenth year of Tiberius" (A.D. 28). A computation of this kind was quite in the spirit of the age in which, and the people (the Jewish Christians of Syria and Egypt) with whom, I suppose it to have originated. Perhaps also the supposition is favoured by the circumstance that Clement goes on to speak of Daniel's prophetic periods as fulfilled in the "last times" of Jerusalem.

The text is corrupt, but not irremediably so. "Ἐτι δὲ κακείνα τῇ χρονογραφίᾳ προσαποδοτέον, τὰς ἡμέρας λέγω ἃς αἰνίττεται Δανιὴλ ἀπὸ (ἐπὶ) τῆς ἐρημώσεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἔτη ζ' μῆνας ζ'. τὰ γὰρ δύο ἔτη προσλαμβάνεται τοῖς Ὀθωνος καὶ Γάλβα καὶ Οὐιτελλίου μηνὶ ιζ' ἡμέραις ἦ. καὶ οὕτω γίνεται ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνες ἕξ, ὃ ἐστὶ "τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς ἐβδομάδος" καθὼς εἶρηκε Δανιὴλ ὁ προφήτης. After Ἱερουσαλὴμ place a full stop and the mark of a lacuna, which might be supplied, *e. g.* thus: εὐρίσκομεν οὖν μετὰ τὴν καταστροφὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὰ Οὐεσπ. κ.τ.λ. For μῆνας ζ' we must also restore μῆνας ια', for the reign of Vespasian numbers 9y. 11m. 22d. (whence in § 144, by an obvious mistake, it is given as 11y. 11m. 22d.), and Clement's meaning is, that after the fall of Jerusalem there remain of Vespasian 7y. 11m., the first 2 years [and 22 days] together with the 17m. 8d. of the three short reigns together making 3y. 6m. As the reign of Vespasian bears date from 1 July A.D. 69, and ends 23 June A.D. 79, Clement's date for the fall of Jerusalem is 23 July A.D. 71, and the 3y. 6m. begin 23 Jan. A.D. 68. This is not indeed the true epoch of Otho (= 3 Apr. A.D. 68), but the intention is obvious: viz. the 7m. 6d. of Otho by this arrangement are made to reach to the 29th Aug. = 1 Thoth A.D. 68, from which he dates the reigns, partly conjoint, of Galba and Vitellius (given in § 144 as

5 m. [read 3 m.] 1 d. and 7 m. 1 d.) to the epoch of Vespasian = 1 July A.D. 69. The 2300 days of Daniel terminate, he says, at the same goal: "These make 6 y. 4 m., of which one-half goes to the reign of Nero, and half to Otho, Galba, Vitellius and Vespasian." In fact, the sum is 6 y. 109 d., reaching from 23 July A.D. 71 back to A.D. 65, 5 April, from which day to the death of Nero, 9 June A.D. 68, are 1161 days, very little more than half of the whole. He adds: *Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγει Δανιήλ, κ.τ.λ.* "And this is why Daniel says, Blessed is he that cometh to the 1335 days: for until (the expiration of) those days the war lasted, but then it ceased." Evidently something is lost before these words, to this purport: "And then the Temple was destroyed by fire, but the siege still continued until the city was taken. And this is why," &c.

HENRY BROWNE.

IV.

Remarks on some of the Greek Tragic Fragments.

(Continued from page 232.)

Eurip. *Æolus*. fr. 14 (28).

ὁ χρόνος ἅπαντα τοῖσιν ὕστερον φράσει.
λάλος ἐστὶν οὗτος, οὐκ ἐρωτῶσιν λέγει.

Dindorf says, "Alter versus si est Euripidis, mirer si poeta hoc scribere maluerit quam λάλος γάρ ἐστι κοῦκ ἐρωτῶσιν λέγει." A simpler correction would be λάλος τις οὗτος. The confusion between ἐστὶν and τις is sufficiently natural, and has been illustrated by Porson.

Eurip. *Alexander*. fr. 11 (54).

οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν κακοῖσιν εὐγένεια,
παρ' ἀγαθοῖσι δ' ἀνδρῶν.

These verses are commonly assumed to belong to the lyrical part of the play, but they may be easily reduced to iambic metre,

οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν κακοῖσιν εὐγένει' ἄρα,
ἀγαθοῖσι δ' ἀνδρῶν.

Eurip. Alexander. fr. 15 (57).

κακόν τι παίδευμ' ἦν ἄρ' εἰς εὐανδρίαν
ὁ πλοῦτος ἀνθρώποισιν αἷ τ' ἔγαν τρυφαί.
πενία δὲ δύστηνον μέν, ἀλλ' ὅμως τρέφει
μοχθοῦντ' ἀμείνω τέκνα καὶ δραστήρια.

Perhaps μοχθεῖν τ' οἱ μοχθεῖν ἀμείνω.

Eurip. Andromeda. fr. 44 (152).

ὁ μὲν ἄλβιος ἦν, τὸν δ' ἀπέκρυνεν
θεός· ἐκ κείνων τῶν ποτε λαμπρῶν
νεύει βίος, νεύει δὲ τύχη
κατὰ πνεῦμ' ἀνέμων.

ἐκ κείνων is Grotius' correction for ἐκείνων. Probably we ought to read ἐκκλίνων, a word which would be peculiarly appropriate to the context, and is strongly confirmed by the parallel use of ἀποκλῖναι, Soph. Oed. R. 1192.

Eurip. Archelaus. fr. 14 (239).

ὀλίγον ἄλκιμον δόρυ
κρεῖσσον στρατηγού μυρίου στρατεύματος.

Matthiæ and Wagner suppose στρατηγού to be a corruption of some epithet like κακανδρού: but this is not certain, as Euripides may have merely meant to say that valour is more important than overwhelming numbers. Thus στρατηγού may be merely an error for στρατηγεῖν, or, as Grotius conjectured, στρατηγῶ. It is possible however that the reading may originally have been μάλ' or σάφ' ἡγοῦ, out of which a copyist, looking rather to the context than to the construction, would easily make στρατηγού.

Eurip. Bellerophon. fr. 26 (309).

οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο τραύματ', εἴ τις ἐγξέση
θάμνοις ἐλείοις, οὐδ' ἂν ἐκ μητρὸς κακῆς
ἐσθλοὶ γένοντο παῖδες εἰς ἀλκὴν δορός.

Possibly οὐτ'—οὐτ', which are used similarly to express a comparison in Æsch. Cho. 71.

Eurip. Danae. f. 2 (319).

φιλοῦσι γάρ τοι τῶν μὲν ἄλβιων βροτοὶ
σοφοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους, ὅταν δέ τις
λεπτῶν ἀπ' οἴκων εὖ λέγῃ πένης ἀνὴρ,
γελᾷ.

Valckenaer corrected ἡγεῖσθαι into τίθεσθαι, and subsequent editors have followed him. The true reading would seem to be

ἄγεσθαι, which is used convertibly with *ἄγειν* by Hdt. i. 134, and in other places.

Eurip. Hippolytus. fr. 15 (444).

τί δ', ἦν λυθῆς με διαβάλης, παθεῖν σε δεῖ;

λυθείς, the common reading, is a conjecture of Musgrave's. The word however is not particularly appropriate, and the meaning of the clause so corrected would be "If you should deceive me after I have let you go," not "If after letting you go, I find that you have been deceiving me." Heath corrected *ψευδῇ*, Hartung *ψύδει*, from which it is easy to see that the word required is *ψύθη*.

Eurip. Cressæ. fr. 8 (470).

ἀρνεία τε δαῖς has been anticipated by Meineke (Ex. Phil. in Athen. 2. p. 36).

Eurip. Melanippe. fr. 27 (509).

ἀνδρῶν δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦ γέλωτος οὐνεκα
ἀσκούσι χάριτας κερτόμους· ἐγὼ δέ πως
μισῶ γελοίους, οἵτινες μὲν ἐπὶ σοφῶν
ἀχάλιν' ἔχουσι στόματα, κείς ἀνδρῶν μὲν οὐ
τελοῦσιν ἀριθμόν, ἐν γέλῳτι δ' εὐπρεπεῖς.
οἰκοῦσι δ' οἴκους, καὶ τὰ ναυστολούμενα
ἔσω δόμων σώζουσι.

The omission of the verb after *εὐπρεπεῖς* is rather harsh, while it is difficult to see the force of *οἰκοῦσι δ' οἴκους*. Both objections may be removed by reading *ἐν γέλῳτι δ' εὐπρεπεῖς Οἰκοῦσιν οἴκους*, with which compare *Æsch. Prom. 955, καὶ δοκεῖτε δὴ Ναίειν ἀπενθῇ πέργαμ'*. The sense is, that these light banterers live a life of sunshine and pleasure, bearing no manly burdens, and encountering no perils.

Eurip. Pirithous. fr. 5 (595).

ἐμῇ γὰρ ἦλθε μητρὶ κεδνῇ πρὸς λέχος
Ζεὺς, ὡς λέλεκται τῆς ἀληθείας ὕπο.

πρὸς κεδνὸν λέχος is the correction of a writer in the Edinburgh Review, No. 37, p. 75, approved by Hermann. Perhaps *κεδνὸν εἰς λέχος* would be better, as coming nearer to the original.

Eurip. Rhadamanthus. fr. 2 (654).

ἔρωτες ἡμῖν εἰσὶ παντοῖοι βίου·
ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐγένειαν ἱμείρει λαβεῖν·
τῷ δ' οὐχὶ τούτου φροντίς, ἀλλὰ χρημάτων
πολλῶν κεκλησθαι βούλεται πατὴρ δόμοις.

χρημάτων πατήρ seems to mean the founder of a fortune: but the expression is a strange one. Should we not read σωτήρ?

Eurip. Stheneboea. fr. 5 (660).

κλύδωνι δεινῷ . . . βροτοστόνῳ βρέμει.

Dindorf conjectures βαρυστόνῳ, Wagner βροτοστνυγεί or βροτοκτόνῳ. We might restore sense and metre by reading κάβροτοστόνῳ, "with the dire and unearthly groaning of the wave."

Eurip. Temenidæ. fr. 2 (721).

φιλεῖ τοι πόλεμος οὐ πάντ' εὐτυχεῖν.
ἐσθλῶν δὲ χαίρει πτώμασιν νεανιῶν,
κακοὺς δὲ μισεῖ· τῇ πόλει μὲν οὖν νόσος
τόδ' ἐστί, τοῖς δὲ κατανοῦσιν εὐκλείης.

If the text is sound, οὐ πάντ' εὐτυχεῖν must be explained by τῇ πόλει κ.τ.λ. Perhaps however we should read οὐ πάντων τυχεῖν.

Eurip. Phaethon. fr. 3 (764).

δεινὸν γε, τοῖς πλουτοῦσι τοῦτο δ' ἔμφυτον
σκαιοῖσιν εἶναι. τί ποτε τούτου ταῖτιον;
ἄρ' ἄλβος αὐτοῖς ὅτι τυφλὸς συνηρεφεῖ,
τυφλὰς ἔχουσι τὰς φρένας καὶ τῆς τύχης;

τούτου has been altered to τοῦδε by Gaisford, συνηρεφεῖ into συνηρετεῖ by Wagner and Meineke. In v. 4 the change of ἔχουσι into ἐχούσης would yield a sufficiently good sense, "since even fortune has her mind blinded."

Eurip. Phaethon. fr. 5 (766).

μνησθεῖς ὃ μοί ποτ' εἶψ', ὅτ' εὐνάσθη, θεός,
αἰτοῦ τί χρήσεις ἔν· πέρα γὰρ οὐ θέμις
λαβεῖν σε· κἂν μὲν τυγχάνης, σάφ' ἴσθ' ὅτι
θεοῦ πέφυκας· εἰ δὲ μή, ψευδὴς ἐγώ.

οὐ θέμις is due to Hermann, to whom we are principally indebted for the restoration of the long fragment of which these lines are a part. The MS. reading ΠΕΡΑΙΓΑΠΙΟΚΑΙΑ however seems clearly to point to something else, probably πέρα γὰρ οὐκ ἔα, as αἰ and ε are constantly confounded. Wagner suggests οὐ καλόν. So σάφ' ἴσθ' ὅτι is merely Hermann's attempt to supply a lacuna of four syllables, for which the MSS. give ΙΥΙΧΛΛΗΠΩΔΩΝ. I would propose κἂν μὲν τυγχάνης σύ γ' ἐλπιδων, as unobjectionable in itself, while it approaches much nearer to the *ductus literarum*. In vv. 10 sqq. of the same fragment, Hermann gives

ἀλλ' ἔρπ' ἐς οἴκους· καὶ γὰρ οἶδ' ἔξω δόμων
 δμῳαὶ περῶσιν, αἱ πατρὸς κοιμωμένου
 σαίρουσι δῶμα.

For αἱ πατρὸς κοιμωμένου the MSS. have ΑΠΑΤΡΟΚΙΟΛΩΡΙΜΟΙ.
 Why not αἱ πατρῶν δρῖμοι Σαίρουσι δῶμα?

Eurip. Phaethon. fr. 15 (775).

ἀλλ' ἔσιθ' ἐς οἶκον, μή τιν' Ἥφαιστος χόλον
 δόμους ἐπεισφρεῖς μέλαθρα συμφλέξῃ πυρὶ
 ἐν τοῖσιν ἡδίστοις Φαέθοντος γάμοις.

ἡδίστοις is Bekker's restoration of the MSS. ΠΑΙCΙΟΙCΙΝ. ἐν
 τοῖσι πλησίοις or ἐν τοῖσιν (τοισιδ'?) αἰσίοις might be suggested
 perhaps with more plausibility.

Eurip. Philoctetes. fr. 11 (789).

λέξω δ' ἐγώ, κἄν μου διαφθείρας δοκῇ
 λόγους, ὑποστὰς αὐτὸς ἡδικηκέαι·
 ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ γὰρ τὰμὰ μαθήσῃ κλύων·
 ὁ δ' αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἐμφανίζει σοι λέγων.

μαθήσῃ has been variously corrected, Grotius proposing σὺ
 μαθήσῃ, Musgrave φρασθήσῃ, Matthiæ ἀκούσεται or γνώσεται, Pflugk
 ἐπιστήσῃ, Hartung νῦν γνώσῃ, Meineke πάντ' εἶσῃ. Possibly μαντεύσει
 would be more probable than any of these, "thou shalt divine
 my actions by hearing of them from myself." Comp. Soph.
 Antig. 631. τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα μαντέων ὑπέρτερον. In v. 4, ἐμφανίζει σοι,
 Heath's reading for ἐμφανεῖ σοι, is open to question. Boissonade's
 ἐμφανῇ θήσῃ, has great plausibility: but the word may have
 been ἐμφανίζετω.

Eurip. inc. fr. 17 (852).

δύστηνος, δοτὶς καὶ τὰ καλὰ ψευδῇ λέγων
 οὐ τοῖσδε χρῆται τοῖς καλοῖς ἀληθέσιν.

Porson corrected τὰ καλὰ καὶ—κἀληθέσιν. Four MSS. however
 give instead of the whole couplet, the words ἥ που χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ τὸ
 ψευδῇ λέγειν, from which we may conjecture δοτὶς τὰ χαλεπὰ ψευδῇ
 λέγων.

Eur. inc. fr. 60 (894).

α. τί δῆτα οὖσι δεῖ σε καθανόμενον;
 β. ἄμεινον· οὐδὲις κάματος εὖ σέβειν θεούς.

Cobet has corrected οὖσι into θύειν: but would not θύσαι be
 nearer the text?

Eurip. inc. fr. 203 (1031).

τὸ μὲν τέθνηκε σῶμα, τοῦτο δ' ἀμβλέπει.

ἀμβλέπει is Meineke's correction of ἀναβλέπει. τὸ δέ however seems to be required by τὸ μὲν, as if the sense were "the body is dead, but the other (the soul) lives," we should rather have had τὸ σῶμα μὲν τέθνηκε. It is easy to read τὸ μὲν τέθνηκε σῶμά μου, τὸ δ' ἀμβλέπει, which is remarkably confirmed by Alex. ap. Diog. Laert. III. 28, quoted by Wagner, σῶμα μὲν ἐμοῦ τὸ θνητὸν αἶον ἐγένετο, τὸ δ' ἀθάνατον ἐξῆρε πρὸς τὸν αἶρα. The words need not refer to the separation of the mortal from the immortal part of the body, being equally applicable to an old man, who, though decaying, feels still vigorous. μου is of course only one way of interpreting the first syllable of τοῦτο, which may have been σου, or possibly πού.

Astydamas. inc. fr. 3 (8).

γόνους δ' ἔπαινός ἐστιν ἀσφαλέστατος,
κατ' ἄνδρ' ἐπαινεῖν, ὅστις ἂν δίκαιος ᾖ
τρόπους τ' ἄριστος, τοῦτον εὐγενῇ καλεῖν.
ἐν' ἄνδρα τοῦτόν ἐστιν εὐρεῖν δυσχερές,
καὶ τοῦτον οἱ ζητοῦντές εἰσι μύριοι.

The reading of v. 4 has been restored by Wagner from the Par. MS. A. of Stobæus: but independently of the metrical objection, the repetition of τοῦτον is very improbable. The old reading was ἔνεκα τῶν ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν ἄνδρ' ἓνα, out of which Porson, partly following Grotius, made ἐν δ' ἑκατόν ἐστιν ἔργον εὐρεῖν ἄνδρ' ἓνα. A sufficiently good line may be extracted from the two, ἐν δ' ἑκατόν εὐρεῖν ἄνδρ' ἐν' ἐστὶ δυσχερές. The Par. MS. B. has οὐχ ἐν' ἄνδρα τοῦτων ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν εὐχερές, which may perhaps point to some such line as ἐν' ἄνδρα τοῦτόν ἐσθ' ελεῖν οὐκ εὐχερές.

Critias, Sisyphus. fr. 1, 2 (2, 3).

ἐκ τῆς ὑπερθε περιφορᾶς, ἵν' ἀστραπὰς
κατεῖδεν οὐσας, δεινὰ δὲ κτυπήματα
βροντῆς, τό τ' ἀστερωπὸν οὐρανοῦ δέμας,
χρόνου καλὸν ποίκιλμα, τέκτονος σοφοῦ,
ὅθεν τε λαμπρὸς ἀστέρος στείχει μύδρος,
ὃ θ' ὑγρὸς εἰς γῆν ὄμβρος ἐκπορεύεται.

ἀστέρος μύδρος is generally understood as a reference to Anaxagoras' doctrine, that the sun was a red hot mass: but the context, as well as the language of the line itself, seems to show

that the thunderbolt is intended, so that we ought to read *ἀστραπῆς*. The repetition of the word is at least as unobjectionable as that of *ἀστέρος* after *ἀστερωπὸν*.

Theodectes, Thyestes. fr. 1 (8).

ἀλλ', ὃ τάλαν θυέστα, καρτέρει δάκνων
ὀργῆς χαλινόν, παρακελεύομαι δέ σοι·
τεθηγμένον σὺν μυρίοις ἄλλοις χρόνος
ἅπαντ' ἄμαυροὶ χυπὸ χεῖρα λαμβάνει.

The last two lines are edited by Wagner from an alteration of Meineke's, the MSS. having *τεθηγμένον ἐν* (σύν MS. Vat.) *ἄλλοις μυρίοις χρόνος τὰ πάντ' κ.τ.λ.* It can scarcely be doubted that *χρόνος τὰ πάντ' ἄμαυροῖ* is right as it stands, in which case the rest of the correction falls to the ground. *ἐν ἄλλοις* is probably corrupt, as *σὺν μυρίοις ἄλλοις* would be exceedingly tame. If we retain *μυρίοις*, we must suppose *ἐν ἄλλοις* to represent some substantive in the dative: but *μύριος* would be an obvious conjecture. The passage seems as if it might originally have run in some form like this:

παρακελεύομαι δέ σοι,
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τὰ πάντ' ἄμαυροῖ χυπὸ χεῖρα λαμβάνει.

Chæremon(?) inc. fr. (Wagner, p. 147).

οὐκ ἔστ' ἄπιστον οὐδὲν ἐν θνητῷ βίῳ
οὐδ' ἂν γένοιτο· πολλὰ ποικίλλει χρόνος
παράδοξα καὶ θαυμαστὰ καὶ ζώντων τρόποις.

In v. 1 *θνητῶν βίῳ* would be an improvement. In v. 3 Wagner says we should manifestly correct *κάν* or *τάν ζώντων τρόποις*. Read *παιζόντων τρόποις*.

Chæremon. inc. fr. 14 (29).

γένειτό μοι τὰς χάριτας ἀποδοῦναι πατρί.

Perhaps *γένειθ' ὁμοίας*, which would avoid the article.

Inc. trag. inc. fr. 145.

ἄνδρ' ἠδίκησας· ἄνδρ' ἀνεκτέον τόδε;

If the text be sound, we should point *ἄνδρ' ἠδίκησας, ἄνδρ'· ἀνεκτέον τόδε*; but *ἄρ' ἀνεκτέον τόδε* is a correction lying on the surface.

Inc. trag. inc. fr. 269.

ἐπὴν δ' ἄρ' ἐκλίπη τὸ πᾶν,
φρουδὸς μὲν ἔσται κυμάτων ἅπας βυθός,
γῇ δ' ἐδράνων ἔρημος, οὐδὲ γάρ τ' ἔτι
πτερωτὰ φύλα βλαστήσει πυρρμένη.

These lines are from a fragment quoted by Clem. Alex. Strom. v. 14, § 123, and repeated by Euseb. P. E. 13. 13. p. 684 c, the subject being the end of the world, and the treatment such as at once to betray a Christian author. For *ἐδράνων*, v. 3, many MSS. of Eusebius give *ἐράνων*, i.e. *ἀνέρων*, the Homeric form, which the writer doubtless thought himself at liberty to use. Another deviation from tragic usage is concealed in *γάρ τ'*, for which the MSS. of Euseb. have *οὐδέ ἄρ'*, i.e. *οὐδ' ἀήρ*, which in imitation of Homer is made a feminine noun. *βλαστήσει* may remind us of *Æsch. Cho. 589*, where the heavenly bodies are said to generate things winged and creeping: but the metre as well as the sense points to *βαστάσει*.

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φυσῶντες ἡμῖν ἐσπέριον τι καὶ τραχύ,
τοῖς δ' ἀντεπῆει δῆμος Ἰλιοφρόνων,
κάπροι δ' ὅπως θήγοντες ἀγρίαν γένυν,
ὥς ἂν μιμήσομαι τι τῆς τραγωδίας,
λοξὸν βλέποντες ἐμπύροις τοῖς ὄμμασιν.

Of these lines (from Gregor. Nazianz. carm. 146) the 3rd and perhaps the 5th, are from Eurip. Phœn. 1395, where see Porson. In the 2nd, *Ἰλιοφρόνων* is stated by Cosmas (in loc. Greg.) to be an imitation of some tragedy, and the language of v. 1 appears to point the same way. In that case we may read *ἔσπερον* (with Wagn.) *τι (τε?) καὶ θρασύ*, as Cosmas says *Ὁμηρος . . . ἐκάστου αὐτῶν τὴν θρασύτητα παραστήναι βουλόμενος, κάπροις μαινομένοις ἀπεικάζει*, and again, *λέουσιν ἢ κάπροις τῶν ἡρώων τὸ θράσος ἀπεικάζει*. Otherwise Gregory may very well have shortened the first syllable of *τραχύ*, as he has done that of *μιμήσομαι*.

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V.

On the Interpretation of a passage in the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle. Book v. Ch. 8.

THIS chapter, in which Aristotle treats of the relation between strict retribution and justice, principally, as is generally supposed, with reference to commercial transactions, is justly considered one of the most obscure in the treatise. The obscurity mainly arises from an apparent contradiction between two nearly consecutive passages.

(1) 'Αλλ' ἐν μὲν ταῖς κοινωνίαις ταῖς ἀλλακτικαῖς συνέχει τὸ τοιοῦτον δίκαιον τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός, κατ' ἀναλογίαν καὶ μὴ κατ' ἰσότητα· τῷ ἀντιποιεῖν γὰρ ἀνάλογον συμφένει ἡ πόλις. . . . Ποιεῖ δὲ τὴν ἀντίδοσιν τὴν κατ' ἀναλογίαν ἢ κατὰ διάμετρον σύζευξις.

(2) Εἰς σχῆμα δ' ἀναλογίας οὐ δεῖ ἄγειν, ὅταν ἀλλάζωνται· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀμφοτέρως ἔξει τὰς ὑπεροχὰς τὸ ἕτερον ἄκρον.

In the first of these passages it seems clearly maintained that a barter of goods should be conducted according to a rule of *proportion*, not of *equality*. In the second, it seems to be as positively asserted that the form of proportion is not to be observed.

None of the various commentators whom I have been able to consult on this passage arrive at any satisfactory explanation. Some, (as Lambinus, Muretus, and Magirus,) cut the knot by reading *εἰς σχῆμα δ' ἀναλογίας δεῖ ἄγειν*, a solution strongly savouring of Ratcliffe's reading of the eighth commandment, "Thou shalt steal," which, as that shrewd rogue truly observes, "makes an unco difference." The omission of the negative, notwithstanding the assertion of Muretus, accepted by Zell, "in qua *librorum* discrepantia," does not appear to be countenanced by a single MS. hitherto collated. In the Scholia attributed to Michael Ephesius *σχῆμα ἀναλογίας* is interpreted to mean the *equalization* of goods, with a view to exchange; and the apparent contradiction is explained by supposing that the equality is to exist before exchange, but not afterwards. This explanation is objectionable,

1st, because *ἀναλογία* is made to bear a sense neither natural in itself, nor consistent with that which it bears in the rest of the chapter; 2ndly, because an equality existing before exchange must, from the nature of the case, also exist afterwards. Other explanations might be cited, equally unsatisfactory.

In proposing a new interpretation, it will be necessary, first, to settle the meaning of the words *proportion* and *equality*. What is meant by *ἀντιπεπονθός* or *ἀντίδοσις κατ' ἀναλογίαν* and *κατ' ἰσότητα*? In these two expressions, taken by themselves, there is not the slightest difficulty: that there should ever have been two explanations has only arisen from the forcing apparently required by a misunderstood context. The natural and obvious meaning of an *exchange in proportion* is one in which the value of the goods exchanged is proportional to the wealth or ability of the parties exchanging; so that *e.g.* if A is ten times as rich as B, his gift will be ten times as great as B's return. An *exchange in equality* is as obviously one in which the goods exchanged are of precisely the same value, whatever may be the circumstances of the parties.

What then does Aristotle mean by saying (according to the ordinary interpretation) that commercial exchanges are to be *κατ' ἀναλογίαν* and *μὴ κατ' ἰσότητα*? Could commerce possibly be conducted on a principle of raising or lowering the price of an article according to the means of the purchaser as compared with those of the seller? Is a tradesman to estimate the value of his own entire property as compared with that of his customer, before he determines whether to charge the latter a high or a low price for his goods? The true solution of this apparent absurdity has escaped, as far as I am aware, the notice of all the commentators. It lies in the simple fact *that Aristotle is not speaking of commerce at all*. This might be inferred from the context, **Ἡ γὰρ τὸ κακῶς ζητοῦσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, δουλεία δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἰ μὴ ἀντιποιήσῃ· ἢ τὸ εὖ· εἰ δὲ μή, μετὰδοσις οὐ γίνεται, τῇ μετὰδόσει δὲ συμμενέουσιν. Διὸ καὶ Χαρίτων ἱερὸν ἐμποδὼν ποιοῦνται, ἵν' ἀνταπόδοσις ᾗ· τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον χάριτος*. What parallel can possibly exist between avenging an injury and dealing with a tradesman? Or what propriety is there in the mention of the temple of the *Χάριτες* (Gratitude) as an inducement to a fair equivalent in commerce? Is it Gratitude that requires me to pay my bills? Is Gratitude the Greek correspondent to a modern bum-bailiff?

It is strange that all the commentators should have neglected a passage in the Eudemian Ethics (a work, if not by Aristotle, yet almost certainly by an early Peripatetic, probably Eudemus) which explains the whole difficulty as clearly as if it had been expressly written in illustration of it. 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ φίλοι τρεῖς, κατ' ἀρετήν, κατὰ τὸ χρήσιμον, κατὰ τὸ ἡδύ, τούτων δὲ ἐκάστης δύο διαφοραὶ (ἡ μὲν γὰρ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν ἢ δὲ κατ' ἰσότητά ἐστιν ἐκάστη αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ δίκαιον τὸ περὶ αὐτὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀμφισβητησάντων δῆλον) ἐν μὲν τῇ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν ἀξιούται τὸ ἀνάλογον οὐχ ὡσαύτως, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὑπερέχων ἀνεστραμμένως τὸ ἀνάλογον, ὡς αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν ἐλάττω, οὕτω τὸ παρὰ τοῦ ἐλάττωτος γινόμενον πρὸς τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ, διακείμενος ὥσπερ ἄρχων πρὸς ἀρχόμενον. Εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴσον κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἀξιοῖ. Καὶ γὰρ διὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων κοινωνιῶν οὕτω συμβαίνει. Ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμῷ τοῦ ἴσου μετέχουσιν, ὅτε δὲ λόγῳ. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἴσον ἀριθμῷ εἰσήνεγκεν ἀργύριον, ἴσον καὶ τῷ ἴσῳ ἀριθμῷ διαλαμβάνουσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἴσον, ἀνάλογον. Ὁ δ' ὑπερεχόμενος τούναντίον στρέφει τὸ ἀνάλογον, καὶ κατὰ διάμετρον συζεύγνυσιν*.

The mention of *diametrical conjunction* both here and in the chapter under consideration naturally suggests an identity of subject. Now, in the passage last quoted, the author is speaking of the controversies arising between those who have contracted a league of friendship for mutual assistance. The superior claims, by virtue of his superiority, to receive a greater share of benefit from the connexion, a claim which he supports by the parallel of a joint-stock partnership, in which he who has invested the largest capital receives a proportional share of the profits. The proportion between the friends and their respective services is thus inverted (*ἀνεστραμμένως*). As A is to B, so must be B's service as compared with A's. The inferior, on the other hand, insists on a direct proportion, by which the larger gain falls to the less productive partner (*κατὰ διάμετρον συζεύγνυσιν*). Thus, as A's wealth exceeds B's, so should A's services to B exceed B's returns to A†.

* Eth. Eud. VII. 10. This argument might be strengthened if we could clearly determine the authorship of Books V. VI. VII. of the Nicomachean Ethics, corresponding word for word with Books IV. V. VI. of the Eudemian. This coincidence can only be explained by the supposition that a lost portion of one treatise has been supplied from the MSS. of the other. But which is the

lender and which the borrower? This inquiry, which can only be alluded to here, might form an interesting subject for a separate paper.

† The phrase *ἡ κατὰ διάμετρον συζεύξις* signifies the union in exchange of *opposed*, not of *similar* terms in the proportion; i.e. of the higher number in one ratio with the lower in the other, not of the two higher or two lower

It is finally decided that the latter is the rule to be observed, the loss of profit to the superior being made up in honour.

If then we interpret the *κοινωνίαι ἀλλακτικαί* of Eth. Nic. v. 8, as referring to a similar interchange of friendly offices, instead of to a commercial barter between two traders, the propriety of the expression *κατ' ἀναλογίαν καὶ μὴ κατ' ἰσότητα* becomes obvious. The rich man assists his friend with his purse; the poor man cannot return an equivalent in pecuniary value, but must make an acknowledgment of another kind, such as his circumstances admit. Whereas any rule of commercial exchange must require that the goods exchanged should amount to the same pecuniary value.

It is to this latter kind of exchange that the second passage refers, in which it is said, *εἰς σχῆμα δ' ἀναλογίας οὐ δεῖ ἄγειν, ὅταν ἀλλάζωνται, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀμφοτέρας ἔξει τὰς ὑπεροχὰς τὸ ἕτερον ἄκρον**. The rule of proportion has no place in commerce; for the goods must either be originally equal, or must be made so before an exchange can take place. A little attention to the intermediate parts of the chapter will enable us to understand the somewhat abrupt transition from the one kind of exchange to the other. The subject of friendship ends with the words *ἀνθυπηρεῖσθαι τε γὰρ δεῖ τῷ χαρισαμένῳ καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἄρξαι χαριζόμενον*. In the next sentence, the nature of this exchange in proportion is explained, and its applicability to commerce discussed. Proportion is admissible in commerce *only when the ratios composing it are ratios of equality; i. e.* when the relation between the two producers and their respective works can be expressed by $A : B :: C : D :: 1 : 1$. *Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ᾗ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν ἴσον, εἴτα τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς γένηται, ἔσται τὸ λεγόμενον. εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἴσον οὐδὲ συμμένει. οὐθὲν γὰρ κωλύει κρεῖττον εἶναι τὸ θατέρου ἔργον ἢ τὸ θατέρου, δεῖ οὖν ταῦτα ἰσασθῆναι*. The remainder of the chapter describes the means by which this equalization is to be effected; viz. by reducing all goods to a pecuniary standard of value, whereby we are enabled to find an exact equivalent for each in money or in money's worth.

numbers. In the same sense, the expression *αἱ κατὰ διάμετρον* is used of logically opposed propositions, *de Interpret.* ch. 10.

* Τὸ ἕτερον must not be rendered as if it were *ἐκάτερον*. The meaning is, that by applying to commerce the

rule of friendship, and giving to the superior producer the inferior work, the term representing this union will contain the two extremes of the proportion, and the other term, as is implied but not stated, will contain the two means.

By adopting this explanation, it is hoped that Aristotle may not only be reconciled with himself, but (which under the ordinary interpretation is by no means easy) made to talk something like common sense.

H. L. M.

VI.

On the Topography of HALICARNASSUS, with Guichard and Dalechamp's account of the final destruction of the Mausoleum, by Professor LUDWIG ROSS, translated with notes by JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S. &c. Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature.*

THE transportation of the slabs of the Frieze from the *Mausoleum* to London has invited many enquiries concerning the *Topography of Halicarnassus*^(a), which induce me also to add something to the preceding extracts from my diary, and a plan of the locality†.

In the work of Mr *Charles Newton*^(b), which Herr *Gerhard* has made known in Germany by an extract, and of which mention has been made before, it has again been shown what a fruitless undertaking it is and leading to palpable mistakes without an actual survey of the localities, and a knowledge of the situation of the ground after an ever so carefully executed plan—to indulge in topographical enquiries and to set up hypotheses.

Mr *Newton* has by a gross error placed the Palace of *Mausolus* to the West, the fountain *Salmacis* to the East, of the outer harbour, and both far without the walls of the ancient city,

* "Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos, und der Insel Cypern, von Ludwig Ross," Halle. 1852, pp. 39—41.

† From the English Chart, No. 1606; Boudroum (*Halicarnassus*) surveyed by Lieuts. *Th. Graves*, and *S.*

Brock, 1838; from which also *Newton's* plan in the "Archäol. Zeitung," von *Gerhard*, No. 12. Dec. 1847. Tab. XII. has been reduced. [Prof. Ross's plan on a reduced scale will be found in *Smith's Dictionary of Geography*, I. 1027.]

without thinking that he had done anything wrong; equally arbitrarily, but not quite so absurdly, he fixes the Mausoleum nearly in the middle of the city, in a place where no vestige of such a gigantic building exists. These mistakes do not require any further refutation; they are already known as such, and have been in part corrected. The distinguished Captain *Spratt*, whose correct industry in topographical examinations I from a long friendship know, has made out on the spot, that on the windmill-hill westward of the harbour, whereon Mr *Newton* thinks the palace^(c) of the kings of Caria should have been placed, no traces whatever of an ancient foundation remain; on the other hand *Newton* again errs in this, that he puts the sepulchre upon the modern terraces under a Mosque^(d) in the East half of the town, in that spot where the low-fluted columns with the inscriptions are lying*.

According to *Vitruvius's* unusually circumstantial and graphic description of the localities of Halicarnassus, the *Mausoleum* can only have been situated upon the beautiful stylobate, which I with Mr *W. J. Hamilton*^(e) have pointed out as such, and where also the fragments of Ionic columns prove themselves suitable to the well-known grandeur of its proportions. Mr *C. Newton* fixes here, quite at the foot of the hill, the temple of Mars; which indeed, according to *Vitruvius*, stood upon the summit of the castle (*Acropolis*)^(f). After both these points have been undoubtedly settled, we come to the meaning of *right* and *left* according to *Vitruvius*, who seems here to speak throughout from actual observation. Now it is impossible that he should have placed himself with his face northwards, looking towards the city walls and towards the summit of the rock behind them, in order to describe the city lying thus at his back; on the contrary he turned himself, as every observer on the same spot naturally would do, with his face^(g) to the South with the city and the entrance of the harbour at his feet. So all his assertions directly become perfectly clear. On the *right*, that is, on the West side of the harbour, he had the fountain Salmacis with the temple of Mercury and Venus^(h); but on the *left*, where at present stands the castle of the knights, the seat of the Carian kings, and behind this, from this point of view entirely concealed, the little outer naval harbour⁽ⁱ⁾. In such a position Mausolus

* In *Gerhard's* Archäol. Zeit. VI. (1848), N. 6. S. 81.

could again survey, as a glance at the plan makes it quite plain, from his palace on the right of the great harbour, the market (*forum* or *agora*) and the whole course of the city walls, but on the left could watch over the workman in his arsenal.

Concerning the gates, which appear in the narrative of the siege of the city, the gate of Mylasa and that of Myndus have been already before determined; the Tripylon* is either the same with the last, or it must have been placed in the hollow between the two Acropolises behind the Mausoleum. But the last is improbable, because here is no vestige of a gate, and because moreover in such case *Arrian* would scarcely have failed in mentioning the neighbouring monument. That West gate of Myndus appears throughout to have been the principal gate. It is probable that on the South-east side of the city there was a third or fourth gate, which led to Ceramus.

With my placing of the Mausoleum likewise the remarkable account of its last destruction in the year 1522, by the knights (of St John), very well coincides (especially with the words: "certain steps of white marble that were raised in the form of a stylobate in the midst of a plain near the port, where was formerly the Grand Place (*Agora*) of Halicarnassus"), which I have therefore added as an appendix to this letter.

APPENDIX.

The destruction of the Mausoleum by the Knights of St John †.

I wish, since the occasion is so opportune, to gratify posterity in a matter, which has not yet been published, and briefly to describe how, when, and by whom, this admirable work (the *Mausoleum*) was pulled down, and destroyed. From the decline of the Roman Empire, when, by the incursions of the Mahometans and Persians, so many powerful, rich, and populous towns were ravaged and destroyed, the ancient and superb city of

* Τὸ Τριπύλον, *Arrian*, *Anab.* I. 22, 1 and 4.

† Extract from *Claude Guichard*, "Funérailles et diverses manières d'ensevelir," &c., *Lyon*. 1581. liv. 3. ch. 5. pp. 379—381. I have borrowed this extract from a treatise by *Sainte Croix*, "on the Chronology of the Monarchs of

Caria," in *Histoire et Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France, Classe d'histoire*. Tom. II. *Paris*. 1815, pp. 576—80. The narrator is *Dalechamps*, who drew up this account from the oral communication of an eye-witness, the chevalier de la Tourrette.

Halicarnassus was likewise ruined and reduced to a small village, or hamlet, exposed to the mercy of Corsairs and pirates, which place exists to this day, and is named *Mésy*^(k). The Knights of St John of Jerusalem having retired to Rhodes, and seeing this place, which presents itself first to one passing straight from the island upon the continent, as defensible by nature, and very commodious for commanding Asia (Minor), for obtaining provisions from all that district, and for arresting the incursions of the pirates of Turkey and Egypt, *built*^(l) upon the right point of the harbour, where formerly, as we have before remarked, stood the Temple of Venus and Mercury, a castle, which is to be seen at present; they fortified, and called it *St Peter's Tower*. Induced as I believe to *fortify*^(m) this coast, although the other point was a stronger situation, for the convenience of the beautiful and crystal fountain Salmacis, which flowed near*.

In the year 1522, whilst the Sultan Soliman was preparing to attack the Rhodians, the Grand Master, knowing the importance of this place, and that the Turk would not fail to invade it at the first approach if he could, sent hither some of the Knights for the purpose of repairing it, and putting in preparation every thing which might be necessary in order to hold out against the enemy, among whom was the commander *de la Tourrette*, a native of Lyons, who survived the taking of Rhodes, and came into France, where he gave, as I have already said, the relation to M. *d'Alechamps*, a person well known by his learned writings, and whom I only name, in order that it may be known from whom I have so remarkable a story. These knights having arrived at *Mésy*, immediately began to fortify the castle; and in order to have time, not finding in the vicinity any stone more suitable for burning, nor any thing that was more easily obtained, than certain steps of white marble, which were raised in the form of a stylobate in the midst of a plain near the port, where was formerly the grand place (*Agora*) of Halicarnassus, they caused them to be pulled down and taken for this purpose. The stone being found good, was the reason why, the small quantity of stone-work that was seen on the ground having been destroyed, they caused diggings to be made deeper in hope of finding more.

* This view of the position of the fountain *Salmacis* on the East side of the harbour, is, as I have above shown, erroneous. (*Ross*). So likewise is that of the Temple of Venus and Mercury. (*J. H.*)

This answered very fortunately; for they discovered in a few hours, that the deeper they dug, so much the more the building increased at the base, which afterwards afforded them stones, not only for making lime, but also for building. At the end of four or five days, after having made a great discovery one afternoon, they saw an opening like the entrance into a cellar; they took a candle and descended into it, where they found a beautiful large square chamber, adorned on all sides with marble columns, with their bases, capitals, architraves, friezes, and cornices sculptured and carved in half-relief; the intercolumniations covered with white glass, fillets or flat-bands of different coloured marbles, ornamented with mouldings or sculptures conformable to the rest of the work, and properly suited to the white ground of the wall, where were only to be seen small figures⁽ⁿ⁾ and all kinds of battles cut in half-relief. Having at first sight admired this, and after having considered in their mind the singularity of the work, they then took down, knocked to pieces, and broke it, for the purpose of using it as they had done the rest. Besides this chamber, they found afterwards a very low door, that conducted to another, like an antichamber, where there was a tomb with its *sarcophagus*^(o) and its lid of white marble, very beautiful and shining admirably, which as they had not sufficient time, they did not open, retreat having already been sounded. The next day, after they had returned, they found the tomb open, and the ground covered all over with very small pieces of cloth of gold, and fragments of the same metal; which made them think that some Corsairs^(p), who then infested the whole of this coast, having had some intimation of what had been discovered in that place, came there during the night and took off the lid of the tomb; and it is supposed that they found there great riches and treasures.

Thus this superb sepulchre^(q), accounted one of the seven wonders and marvellous works of the world, after having escaped the fury of barbarians, and existed for the space of about 2247 years^(r), buried among the ruins of the city of Halicarnassus, was discovered and pulled down, for the purpose of fortifying the castle of *St Peter*, by the Knights Crusaders of Rhodes, who were quickly after driven from it by the Turk^(s), and at the same time from the whole of Asia (Minor)^(t).

NOTES.

p. 348, note (a).—Halicarnassus is properly considered to have occupied the locality of the present town of *Budrum*. At first, however, it appears doubtful how the latter word can in any way refer to the *ancient* name. Boodroom, Boudroum, Budrum, Vûdrûm, Bodrun, Bodroun, Bedrum, or Budrûn, as the place is variously written, is, according to Mr Walpole, “a corruption, through *Petrumi*, as the Turks write it, from Pietro.” (MS. Journal in *Clarke’s Travels*, Vol. III. (4th Edit. 8vo. 1817) p. 256, note 1.) Or, according to Professor Ross (p. 30, note 1), Περπούμιον or Περπούμιον is the modern Greek name of the castle of *St Peter*, which was originally built by the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, and which stands on the East point of the great harbour. Cepio in 1477 describes it, as “Castellum Sancti Petri, situm in ea parte Cariæ quæ Choo insulæ opposita est.” (Vide “*Petri Mocenici Imperatoris gesta*,” lib. I. p. 17.) Budrum consequently is a corruption of the Turkish for *Peter*. And its identity with the site of Halicarnassus is chiefly shown from coins, that have been discovered there, with the legend ΑΛΙΚΑΡ. (See *Hamilton’s “Asia Minor,”* Vol. II. p. 35.) But I have only seen *one* Greek inscription bearing the original name; and this is given in *Baillie’s Fasciculus Inscript. Græc.* II. p. 71, No. 96 f.; it was copied by that author as preserved in a house in the town of Vûdrûm, and begins ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΕΩΝ. And Mr Walpole says, in his MS. Journal before cited, “if any doubt should exist whether Bûdrûn were the ancient Halicarnassus, or not, it might be removed at once by this circumstance: Strabo points out the situation of the island *Arconnesus*; and the small island opposite the fort of Bûdrûn is now called *Arconeso*.” This islet, the Ἀρκόννησος (*Strabo*, XIV.), is at this day, according to Mr W. J. Hamilton (*ibid.* p. 34), named *Orak Ada*. But Mr Morritt appears to have considered the Arconnesus as the rock on which the castle of St Peter was built. (See *Clarke’s Travels*, same Vol. p. 268, note 1.)

p. 348, note (b).—Mr Newton’s original memoir “On the Sculptures from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus,” is published in the *Classical Museum*, Vol. V. Art. IX. pp. 170—201.

p. 349, note (c).—See this stated in Mr Newton’s paper (*ibid.* p. 176).

p. 349, note (d).—Mr *Newton* (p. 181) seems to believe that the fragments of an Ionic edifice near the Pasha's house, "are those of the Mausoleum lying *in situ*,"—these doubtless are the same as what Mr *Hamilton* (p. 33) saw, and thus describes,— "Near the Agha's Konak we copied a few imperfect inscriptions, and saw many blocks of marble, and broken columns, built into the walls of the houses." Mr *Donaldson* had previously thus noticed the same remains, "Nearer to the palace of the Pasha are many fragments of shafts of columns, of volutes, and other ornaments of a superb Ionic edifice, rivalling in taste, finish, and material, the finest edifices of Athenian art." Indeed Plate IV, *Stuart's Athens*, Vol. IV, represents a beautiful Ionic capital from that locality. I have in my former Essay (on Greek floral ornaments, *Trans. R. Soc. Lit. Vol. II. N. S. p. 186*) made mention of the exquisitely sculptured honeysuckle flower from this capital, and I have drawn it at fig. 5 in my accompanying Plate. Mr *Donaldson* well observes that this capital is of the "most pure style, and of Parian marble:" in fact, worthy in every respect to adorn a temple dedicated to the Goddess of Beauty. So these ancient remains, I conceive, are most likely those of the *Temple of Venus and Mercury*, which was near the fountain of *Salmacis*: the position of which must have been adjacent, though a little more to the right or West.

p. 349, note (e).—Refer to *Hamilton's Asia Minor*, II. p. 32, where he calls it "a remarkable terrace or platform;" and thinks that it "may very probably have been the *substruction* of the *Mausoleum*."

p. 349, note (f).—Professor *Ross* places the *Acropolis Salmacis* and the Temple of Mars upon the height immediately north of the theatre: but Col. *Leake* considers that they occupied the spot where the castle of St Peter now exists. (See p. 48, *Trans. R. S. Lit. Vol. II. N. S.*) So likewise Mr *Morrith* thought in 1795, for he says, "the old Acropolis stood where the castle now is." (MS. Journal in *Clarke's Travels*.) Halicarnassus had *three* Acropolises, or in the words of *Diod. Sic.* (17, 23), ἀκροπόλεσι καλαῖς κεκοσμημένῃ. There is considerable difficulty in assigning the positions of these Acropolises, about which topographers do not agree. According to the learned *Morrith*, "the citadel and fountain of *Salmacis* on the western horn, and that on the island of *Arconnesus*, continued to resist the Macedonians after the *Arx*

Media (of *Vitruvius*) and the city were destroyed. They probably therefore were the *double Acropolis* mentioned by Strabo; but the *third* is certainly mentioned by Diodorus, Arrian, and Vitruvius; and as certainly its remains are seen behind the Theatre."

p. 349, note (g).—Mr *Newton* admits that "most of the commentators interpret" the description of Vitruvius (Lib. II. cap. 8), so that he must "have viewed the scene with his face to the sea." (Class. Mus. v. p. 175.)

p. 349, note (h).—The Temple of Mercury (*Hermes*) and Venus (*Aphrodite*) was according to Vitruvius (II. 8) near, or "ad ipsum Salmacidis fontem." See *Ovid's* tale (Met. lib. IV. fab. 9) of this famous, or rather infamous fountain,

—"quare male fortibus undis
Salmacis enervet, tactosque remolliat artus,"

the enervating property of which was supposed to change men into women, or into both sexes, *Hermaphrodites*. Perhaps the combination of the *two* sexes may be typified by the *single* temple of the united Deities—*Hermes* and *Aphrodite*.

p. 349, note (i).—Professor *Ross* places the royal palace of the Carian monarchs on the spot now occupied by the castle of St Peter. *Vitruvius* (*loc. cit.*) says, "in sinistro cornu regia Domus, quam rex Mausolus ad suam rationem collocavit. Conspicitur enim ex ea ad dextram partem forum et portus mœniumque tota finitio; sub sinistra secretus sub montibus latens portus ita ut nemo possit quid in eo geratur adspicere nec scire: ut rex ipse de sua domo remigibus et militibus sine ullo sciente quæ opus essent imperaret." *Ross* would substitute in this passage, the word *mœnibus* for *montibus*, observing that, "walls of rock (*montes*) here reach nowhere else so close on the shore, that they could conceal the second smaller harbour; it is therefore probable to read *mœnibus*: an arsenal defended by a pier and high walls on the left (and east) under the royal palace, the present castle." I have examined several editions of Vitruvius, but cannot find any emendation, or various reading, of *mœnibus* for *montibus*. Mr *Morritt*, however, seems to me to explain the difficulty in the following extract from his MS. Journal: "There is a picturesque little port behind the castle, to the East, shut in by the rock of the Arconnesus. This was the little port seen from the palace of the Carian Kings, which stood in the old Acropolis, where the

castle now is." And Admiral *Beaufort* (*Karamania*, p. 95) says, "In front of the town, a broad square *rock* projects into the bay, on which stands the citadel." (See his pretty vignette of the harbour at p. 89.) Hence it is not unlikely that the "*rock*" here described, is what *Vitruvius* intends by the plural "*montibus*."

p. 351, note (k).—Before the occupation by the Knights of Rhodes in the fifteenth century, *Budrum* was called in the middle ages, *Mésy*, i. e. probably *Μέση*, perhaps from its situation in the middle of a considerably high range of hills. *Ross*, note (1), p. 30.

p. 351, note (l).—Evidence exists that the *Mausoleum* was standing in the latter half of the twelfth century (*Eustathius*, ll. ψ. v. 256); and that early in the fifteenth century, the castle of St Peter was first begun to be built by the Chevalier *Schlegel-holt*;—"ex . . . pyramidibusque *Mausoli Sepulchri* . . . *struere cœpit*." This was followed by other spoliations; and finally, the basement or stylobate of the monument, in which the sarcophagus of *Mausolus* is said to have been, was pulled down and removed by the Knights of St John, about a century afterwards.

p. 351, note (m).—The Knights repaired and strengthened this fortress of *St Peter*, in A.D. 1480, when our Edward IV. granted *Letters patent* in order to procure the means of defending them against the great Turk. The Letters, bearing date the 29 April, an. 20 Edward IV. 1480, recite, "*cum capitalis et odiosissimus inimicus Christianæ fidei Magnus Turcus non solum totum Greciam sed etiam quam plures provincias civitates et insulas adjacentes in captivitatem et tributum subduxerat, ac jam civitatem de Rhodes et insulas sibi pertinentes, necnon Castrum de Seynt Piere alias dictum Castrum de Seynt Petre, in terra Turkiæ situatum, quod quidem castrum, per importabilia onera et custagia Magistri et conventûs ordinis Sancti Johannis Jerusolimitani in Rhodes prædicta, a longo tempore elapso, custoditum extitit, totaliter destruere et subicere infra breve intendit ut accepimus*." (Vide *Rymer's Fœdera*, Tom. XII. p. 112. *Lond.* 1711.)

p. 352, note (n).—Without doubt the large sculptured slabs of the frieze now in the British Museum, were placed *outside* of the stylobate, or basement, as represented in Mr *Falkener's* restoration of the Mausoleum, Plate opposite p. 178, *Mus. Class. Antiq.* No. 2, 1851. They were doubtless removed by the Knights, and used in building or repairing the walls of the castle of St Peter, and where they are mentioned by several travellers,

among them by Mr *Morritt*. He correctly stated "that these beautiful marbles were probably taken from the celebrated Mausoleum." (MS. Journal.) In all probability the battles (*Amazonomachia*) in relief, which were sculptured *inside* the chamber, as described by *Guichard*, were smaller; these were broken and knocked to pieces by the Knights. One figure, however, has possibly been preserved, which I take to be that of the *little Amazon* on horseback, which was found by Captain *Spratt* at Budrum, and presented by him to the British Museum. This marble bas-relief is nearly *half* the size of the larger slabs, and therefore more in proportion to the *internal* chamber of the Mausoleum: in design, it is almost identical with that sculptured on the large slab, numbered 9. The "Budrum Marbles" have been ably commented upon by Mr *W. R. Hamilton*, and by Mr *Bonomi* in two papers, published a few years ago, in the *Trans. R. S. Lit.* (Vol. II. N. S. p. 251, and p. 308.) On recently looking at these sculptures, now in the Phigalian Gallery of the British Museum, I noticed an inscription in *three* lines upon an *oval* shield of a *Greek warrior* contending with an Amazon on horseback in the slab numbered 3, and thought that the last letters of the *first* line seemed to be ΠΟΙΕΙ·Τ. But on subsequently reading Mr *Newton's* Memoir (*Class. Mus.* v. p. 185), I learnt that he had observed some inscribed letters, which he says are *Roman*, upon "the shield of *one of the Amazons*," though he does not give the number of the piece of the frieze. Whether indeed this be the *same* inscription as what I noticed, appears doubtful; for the description, if intended for it, is inaccurate. I must however state that the day, on which I lately saw these inscribed *three lines*, was a dark November afternoon, and consequently it was impossible to make out clearly the decayed letters, or to pronounce whether they are Grecian, or Roman. Further, I observed on *another* shield (a *round* one) of a *Greek warrior*, in the slab numbered 11, some inscribed marks, which to me resembled angular Greek letters, or parts of letters, but as they are greatly worn, I only mention them with much uncertainty.

p. 352, note (o).—Mr *W. J. Hamilton* relates (*Asia Minor*, Vol. II p. 31) finding a large *sarcophagus* near the ruins of the Doric portico, a little South of the platform or stylobate, which he supposes may have been the basement of the Mausoleum: can this have been the *sarcophagus* described by *Guichard*? if

so, there can be no doubt, I think, but that *platform* is, in reality, the *foundation* of the former splendid *Mausoleum*. And the situation of it well agrees with *Vitruvius's* description, as follows: "is autem locus (*Halicarnassus*) est theatri curvaturæ similis. Itaque in imo secundum portum Forum est constitutum; per mediam autem altitudinis curvaturam præcinctionemque platea ampla latitudine facta, in qua media *Mausoleum* est." (De Architect. Lib. II. cap. 8.)

p. 352, note (p).—It is more likely that, either some of the Knights' soldiers, or workmen, or some of the townspeople, having learnt this discovery, went by stealth during that night, and ransacked the tomb.

p. 352, note (q).—Guichard gives two coins with the ob. heads of Artemisia, and rev. representations of the *Mausoleum*. One of these seems to be made in part from *Pliny's* description: although spurious, if struck during the *existence* of that monument in its more perfect state, it might afford *some* resemblance to it. The learned *Eckhel* (Doctr. Num. Vol. II. p. 597) writes: "Artemisia numis genuinis caret. Ejus numos spectandæ molis, in quorum aversa ΜΑΥΣΩΛΕΙΟΝ typo celebrati *Mausolei* esse *adulterinos*," &c. An attempted restoration of this famous edifice has occupied the attention of architects and others. Of the earlier, I will only name Count *Caylus*, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. Tom. XXVI. tab. 1—4), and Count *Choiseul Gouffier* (Voy. Pit. Atlas, Part I. tab. 98): and of the later, Mr *C. R. Cockerell* (Class. Mus. v. Pl. opposite p. 193, fig. A.), and Mr *Edward Falkener* (Mus. Class. Antiq. No. 2. April 1851. Pl. opposite p. 178). This last design, I think, in several respects is to be preferred. Col. *Leake* has also made (Trans. R. S. Lit. Vol. II. N. S. p. 45) some good observations on these restorations. I may here point out two very interesting views in Part II. of the "Antiquities of Ionia," published by the Dilettanti Society in 1797; the *first* represents the town, harbour and castle of St Peter at *Budrum*; and the *second* is an internal view of that Castle, with nine of the sculptured slabs built into its walls. The Knights, to do them justice, have evidently paid some regard to the mode in which they had these sculptures inclosed in the walls of the Castle.

p. 352, note (r).—Artemisia died B.C. 351, when the *Mausoleum* was unfinished; therefore *Guichard's* number of years of its existence, at the date of his work, is too many by about 315 years.

p. 352, note (s).—This is confirmed by the *Turkish Annals*, which record that *Budrum* “was surrendered to the Ottomans, with Cos and Rhodes, in the 929th year of Hegira, and 1522 A.D. ‘Cum Rhodo Turci arcem Stancoin, et *Bedrum* aliam arcem in Anatolia sitam, in potestatem rede gere.’ *Leunclavius*, p. 342.” (*Walpole’s MS. Journal in Clarke’s Travels.*)

p. 352, note (t).—Mr Newton has only given about *two-thirds* of this account in the French in his Memoir, p. 183, 4, Class. Mus. v; I therefore, in order to complete this interesting and quaint description, here add the *first third* portion of it, from the original work by *Guichard*, which is a very old and rare book :—

“Je veuil, puisque l’occasion se présente si à propos, gratifier la posterité de chose qui n’a point encor esté publiée, et deduire brievement comment, quand, et par qui cest admirable ouvrage a esté desfaict et demoli. Depuis l’inclination de l’empire Romain, lorsque, par les courses des Mahometans et Persans, tant de puissantes villes, riches, et bien peuplées, furent ravagées et destruites, l’ancienne et superbe cité d’Halicarnasse fut aussi ruinée et reduite en un petit village ou hameau, exposé à la merci des corsaires et escumeurs de mer, qui dure encore aujourd’huy, appelé *Mésy*. Les chevaliers de *S. Jean de Jerusalem* s’estans retirés à Rhodes, et voyans ce lieu, lequel se présente le premier passant droit de l’isle en terre ferme, defensable de sa nature, et fort commode pour commander sur l’Asie, tirer vivres de tous ces païs-là, et empescher les courses des pyrates de Turquie et d’Egypte, ils bastirent sur la pointe droite du port, où jadis, comme nous avons remarqué cy-dessus, estoit le temple de Venus et de Mercure, un chasteau qu’on y void encor à present, lequel ils fortifièrent et appelèrent la *Tour S. Pierre*; allechés comme je croy, à fortifier de ce costé, jaçoit que l’autre pointe fust de plus forte assiette, pour la commodité de la belle et cristalline fontaine Salmacis, qui couloit auprès.”

VII.

*On the Classical Authorities for Ancient Art.**(Continued from p. 252.)*

I now proceed to the enumeration of authors proper, beginning as before with those whose works are lost.

Athenæus (xiii. 606), after mentioning a statue by Ctesicles, and adding respecting it a circumstance which is mentioned by Alexis, *nat.* B. C. 394, and by Philemon, adds: Κτησικλέους δέ ἐστιν ἔργον τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὥς φησιν Ἀδαῖος Μιτυληναῖος ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀγαλματοποιῶν. Reiske assumes that the Adæus here mentioned is the same as the author of the epigram Ἀδδαίου (sic) Μιτυληναίου (Anthol. Gr. vii. 305).

Again, in another passage, Athenæus quotes as his authority a work by one Alcetas περὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθημάτων. No reader of Pausanias wants to be reminded of the significance of ἀναθήματα in the history of ancient art. Statues and paintings were the chief of the very varied objects comprised under this designation. A treatise, which would unfold with adequate breadth and depth the various uses of the word ἀνάθημα, would be one of the most interesting chapters on the religious life and religious art of Classical antiquity. The temple, in and about which these offerings were deposited and erected, was in itself a kind of ἀνάθημα—a sort of petrified ‘sursum corda’ of the Greek. It is this, in my apprehension at least, which imparts a peculiar significance to the altitude of the κρηπιδῶμα or κρήπις of the temple: a term, of which the double meaning reminds me that this basement might be called the *Cothurn* of Greek temple architecture: for it was a peculiar feature of a sacred edifice, just as the thick-soled tragic shoes, or ἔμβαραι, more commonly known by the Cretan name of Cothurn, were used to indicate the superhuman dignity of any God or Hero in the Dramatis Personæ. I cannot quit the subject of the ἀναθήματα, without remarking that statues placed, under that category, in the περιβόλος of the temple must be carefully distinguished from the ἄγαλμα in the cell. To this were the prayers of worshippers directed. The others had some analogy to the collections of modern museums. A work on the same sub-

ject, I may add, is attributed by Athenæus, XIII. 594, to one Menetor.

We find in Fulgentius, III. 3, that a certain Anaximenes wrote a work on ancient paintings. Whether he be the same as the author—if author—of the *Ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον*, whom Vossius wrongly distinguishes from the historian, is matter for conjecture.

Athenæus quotes largely from a work on Alexandria by a Rhodian named Callixenus. Of those quotations I shall hereafter avail myself. For the present, I have only to state that they fix the date of their author as a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus, *i. e.* about B. C. 260; and, further, that from the same pen came a *ζωγράφων τε καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιῶν ἀναγραφὴ*, extracts from which were contained, says Photius, in the *ἐκλογαὶ* of the younger Sopater.

In treating of Duris of Samos, Vossius adds: “*Alius ni fallor ab hoc Duride est is cujus liber περὶ ζωγραφίας citatur a Diogene Laertio l. i. 38, estque is sine dubio quem toreuticen scripsisse ait Plin. Ind. lib. xxxiii. Sunt enim affines artes pictorum et torneutarum, uti et sculptorum, eoque non absurde existimemus hunc esse qui ad commendationem artis prodiderit, Socraten quoque ἐργάσασθαι λίθους, teste Diog. Laert. II. v. 19.*” I see no reason why Vossius should distinguish the writer on art from Duris Samius the historian, who flourished B. C. 280, and was one of the chief authorities from which Pausanias gathered his historical materials*. I have no doubt that the monographs by Hullemann, Eckerz and Van Gent on this Duris might here be consulted with advantage.

I pass over some writers of minor importance in order to hasten on to one, who may conveniently serve as a stepping-stone to Pausanias.

One of the three sources of geographical information enumerated by Strabo (VIII. c. 1) are *οἱ . . . ἰδίᾳ λιμένας, ἢ περίπλους, ἢ περιόδους γῆς, ἢ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄλλο ἐπιγράψαντες*. This class of *Periodic*, or as it is otherwise called *Periegetic* literature was the spawn of the Alexandrine age. “For it was not till the life of the Greeks had in the main run its course, and creative power was quenched, that men felt a craving to investigate diligently the remains of Foretime, in their local relations to the sayings and traditions

* [C. Müller in the Paris *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* attributes the works on art to the historian.]

with which they were associated. Just as Geography naturally laid itself out for broad features and general details, Periegetic literature took in the particular and the local; no monument was too insignificant for notice, so long as it was bound up with the memory of some person or event, that made a figure in Foretime. In proportion as a place was rich in historical recollections, the greater was the minuteness and completeness of details. By thus collecting local traditions, Periegetic literature made itself supplementary to the historical literature of an earlier age, and served as a bridge to connect the old world with the new." (Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, Band. 1. p. 122.) Of the department of literature thus ably characterised by the learned author of the "Peloponnesos" Polemon was one of the most famous exponents. If on *every* ground the loss of his works is to be deplored, so especially may that loss be regarded as irreparable as respects the history of ancient art. This we are fully warranted in affirming, both from the reputation of their author and from the mere titles of the works themselves. The τέτταρα βιβλία, for example, περὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, what an insight would they not have afforded us into questions which at this time are creating discussions in the archæological world! Thus again, we could almost be angry with Harpocration (s. v. λαμπάς) for telling us of another work περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς Προπυλαίοις πινάκων, such is the chagrin we feel at not being able to con its precious pages. The like will hold of all his other works, of which I will only mention the Περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικυῶνι πινάκων, and the treatise Πρὸς Ἀντίγονον περὶ ζωγράφων which has already been referred to in these pages. For a more complete enumeration of his works, Vossius or Fabricius may be consulted with advantage: for a survey of his fragments, I may refer to Preller's valuable edition.

I have called Polemon a stepping-stone to Pausanias, whose works form in fact the only exception to the otherwise total loss of Periegetic literature. As I have lying before me the admirable and recent work of Curtius, which may be called a commentary on Pausanias, I think it due to my readers to give them his estimate of that author. Something, at any rate, they shall meet with worth perusal before they lay this article down. "Pausanias had by nature no other qualification for the execution of his work than a lively interest in the old haunts and monuments of

the Hellenes, springing from a noble admiration of their greatness in bygone times. This it was which made him forget fatigue in wandering through the desolate districts of Greece, and which induced him in every town to visit the curiosities of the place under the auspices of the ablest guides, and to dot everything down in order in his journal. These collected notes he afterwards published, simply putting them together, and retaining exactly the original order: the only change consisting in the omission of much that on reperusal seemed scarcely fitted for publication. This curtailing came more particularly into play in his notes on Athens and Sparta; for here the great press of matter made him afraid of saying anything trifling, or repeating anything trite. The consequence is that in these places, we have nothing but selections from his diary, which are there somewhat perplexing, as the natural thread of the *Periegesis* is broken The works of preceding travellers he never mentions or uses: he prefers gathering his information on places and remains from direct observation and oral communications. His vouchers are the *Exegetæ* of Argos, Sicyon, Træzen, Messene, Elis, Patræ, Olympia, where different classes of remains had each their own *Exegetes*. Those who complain that Pausanias retails the statements of these people in a dry, uninteresting, and uncritical style, would do well to consider, that it is only thus that the richness of local tradition, which still prevailed in the towns of Greece in the second century of our æra, could have been preserved to us, because a traveller of more vivacious temperament, and greater independence of judgment, would never have undertaken the task. Pausanias follows so closely in the beaten track of his guides, that in order to understand his work, you are obliged to fancy one of them by his side, pointing out and naming sights. A geographer Pausanias is not, for he has no eye for the natural aspect of Greece. Neither is he anything of an historian, for he is incapable of distinguishing myth from history, and some of his best historical sources he never touches. As a topographer however he is faithful and trustworthy: his testimony is above suspicion, and the more naïvely he recites what revolts our understanding, the more may we be certain that seen and heard he has everything in Greece of which he calls himself the eye- and ear-witness. Through him alone is a scientific chorography of the Peloponnesus a possibility; so much so, that not a corner of

the Peninsula is wholly unknown, that only a small number (in proportion) of old names of places are of uncertain locality, and only a few ruins are still without a name."

I am not confident that I can add anything to this estimate of Pausanias which would have the effect of placing him in a fuller or truer light. Much as we may be justified in expecting from the discovery of new, or the collation of known manuscripts, on behalf of the elucidation of the text, for the real key to his meaning we shall be compelled to seek the services of the archæologist. The art and mythology of Hellas reflect the light they receive from his pages. I hope the day is not distant when Panofka shall give us his almost life-long labours on Pausanias. We may then hope that with the aid of two such scholars as he and Curtius, the one furnishing an archæological, the other a chorographic commentary, this only extant monument of Periegetic literature may be placed in its proper light.

The subordination of the subjective element to the simple statement of objective fact renders the "Travels" of Pausanias a model not unworthy of imitation even in this enlightened nineteenth century. He does not force his readers to see everything through his own spectacles. Richly and faithfully, as Curtius remarks, does he store his note-book with unvarnished descriptions of what he saw, with ungarbled recitals of what he heard. Not that he was wanting in critical acumen: not that he blindly gave credence to the ready flow of lying guides. Not once only does he afford us intimation that about the information he retails, he has an opinion; it is precisely because he does not square his statements to suit that opinion that his work should be valued by those who can use it aright. In the contradictions and inconsistencies, which lynx-eyed critics can fasten upon—blemishes these, remember, arising from the photographic accuracy with which the writer described what he saw and heard—how often are we enabled to snatch at the skirts of some precious truth just flitting behind the scenes of history!

There is one point in particular to which great prominence, I humbly submit, should be given in forming an estimate of the value of Pausanias. The study of his works has left on my mind a strong impression, that he was both widely and deeply acquainted with the whole range of Greek Epic literature. I

am not merely alluding to the passage—a passage which finds its clue in the Anti-Homeric monument under Hadrian—where he speaks of himself as πολυπραγμονήσας ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, i.e. as having gone thoroughly into the question of the date of Homer and Hesiod, any more than to that other passage where he says, πρόσκειμαι γὰρ πλέον τι ἢ οἱ λοιποὶ τῇ Ὀμήρου ποιήσει—though to these I would give full weight—: I am rather taking the general character of his expositions of the religious life and mythical lore of Hellas, and from them I have no hesitation in drawing the inference in question, an inference of which the importance will scarcely fail to be appreciated in an age which has given rise to those noble monuments which Welcker has erected on the field of Epic literature. But what avails all this discussion on the merits of Pausanias?—of Pausanias Englishmen read little and understand less: nor is this true merely of the unlettered mass: it pains one to think that even at our Universities the *περιήγησις τῆς Ἑλλάδος* is to all intents and purposes a sealed book. And yet what a flood of light would be thrown on the life of Classical Antiquity, on Religion, Art, History, by a course of lectures on Pausanias from the archæological point of view!

These remarks have grown so much that I must pass abruptly from the domain of Greek literature to that of Roman. Bid adieu to it however I cannot, without animadverting on the inestimable value of Plato's dialogues as an æsthetical interpreter of the spirit of Greek art as portrayed by Pheidias on the bosom of Repose. A recent, very popular, and not very diffident writer on art is lavish of flouts against the Idealism of Hellenic sculpture as a mere Idealism of form. I think that a comparison of the Socratic teaching on the principles of art as embodied in Plato, and the practice of Hellenic artists as embodied in Pheidias, would shew that sage and sculptor were fellow wayfarers on the *ὁδὸς ἀνῶ* (*Polit.* x. fin.), and would be the best cure for such very peculiar hallucinations, the best controul over such extraordinary powers of misapprehension, as this writer must have on the subject of Hellenic art.

And now for Pliny.—Every classical scholar must have hailed with delight the appearance of Sillig's long expected edition of *this* author, which is now nearly brought to a completion. So many nice points in the history of art hung trembling upon the adoption of *this* reading, the rejection of *that*, that it is a relief to

be able to turn to a text which furnishes such valuable data for forming a judgment.

Considering the advanced state of natural history in this country, the energy shewn in its pursuit, the eminence enjoyed by its professors, I think it is matter for regret that on this new text as a foundation some worthy superstructure be not raised by way of illustrating such portions of Pliny's voluminous works as treat of the Natural Sciences. Still more do I regret that the concluding books of the "*Historia Naturalis*" do not meet with a competent editor, one who to an adequate capacity for surmounting the philological difficulties of the task should add that wide archæological crudition, the place of which nothing can supply.

But I pass on to the more special subject of Pliny's value as an historian of ancient art. This it would be madness to deny, and I cannot but regret that some of the censures which critics have cast on the earlier books should have touched the last five, which treat—indirectly treat—on the history of art. I say indirectly, because Pliny, be it remembered, only enters incidentally into the question of ancient sculpture, statuary, and painting: his subject-matter is mineralogy; and from this, as a trunk-line, he branches off into details on art and artists. Precious details in truth they are: a fact to which it has been my humble endeavour to give some additional prominence, by indicating, as far as might be, the general bearings and probable value of those works out of which Pliny compiled his information. With the interpretation of these concluding books, much, very much remains to be done; and I must reiterate the wish that they may ere long meet with a competent editor. The most important part of his task would be the filling up the fragmentary notices in Pliny, so as to give them some organic connexion with the history of ancient art taken as a whole. For this end, rare and precious resources are at his command, if he can only use them as he ought. None more precious than that internal law of development on which, as on a silver cord, the student of Hellenic art is able to string his facts. This law he will discover partly by the study of extant remains of sculpture, partly by investigating the *class* of subjects assigned in the pages of Pliny and Pausanias to the more famous epochal artists, and partly by a careful comparison of the history of art with that

of literature, morality, and politics. Carefully too must he examine the daily increasing stores of ancient inscriptions, furnishing, as they often do, a ready solution of vexed questions on which he might otherwise spend his ingenuity in vain. Neither must he be unmindful of the history of Roman arms and Roman spoliation; this will often throw him on the scent of some work of art which Pliny says he had himself seen, without telling us whence it came. I cannot however pursue the consideration of this subject any further. In any country where archæology occupied the place it deserves to hold as a branch of classical education, the course of illustration here indicated would probably be better adapted to a course of lectures on Pliny than to an edition of the text. I am not, however, sanguine enough to hope that any such recognition will take place.

Disregarding chronological order, I have designedly kept to the last such remarks as I have to offer on the works of Vitruvius, "*il quale autore per la difficoltà della materia, per la novità de' vocaboli, per l'asprezza delle costruzioni, per la corruzione de' testi, è giudicato da ciascuno più che ogni oracolo oscuro.*" The lapse of upwards of three centuries has done comparatively little to impugn the truth of the words I have here quoted from a letter of Claudio Toloméi, written in 1542.

The chief cause of the difficulties attending the elucidation of his meaning rests on the fact, that he is the only writer on architecture whose works have come down to us, and we are consequently much embarrassed by the perplexities attending technical terms, "*quod vocabula ex artis propriâ necessitate concepta inconsueto sermone objiciunt sensibus obscuritatem.*" Add to these the corruption of manuscripts, the ignorance of copyists, the loss of Vitruvius's own drawings, and the great cloud of commentators that has ever loomed over the book, and some feeble idea may be formed of the obstacles which shut out light from his pages. So painful is the unanimity in error of the manuscripts of Vitruvius, beginning from the oldest, which reaches back as far as the eighth or ninth century, that competent judges are of opinion that they must all be the reproductions of some one very corrupt codex. The only point which ought never to have been mooted concerning him—his date—has been matter of very tedious dispute. Mr Newton, his English translator, places him under the reign of Titus: more recently a

German scholar has maintained the paradox, that the whole work is a production of the tenth century ;—a bold undertaking, seeing we have manuscripts which belong to the eighth or ninth century: not to mention a host of other arguments. I shall not repeat the process by which the able author of the article “Vitruvius,” in the *Dictionary of Biogr.*, has set matters right on this head: shewing that he served as military engineer under Julius Cæsar, and that Augustus is the emperor to whom his book—the fruit of his old age—is dedicated. In corroboration of those proofs, I would add that, when Vitruvius wrote, Mazaca was not yet called Cæsarea, and Zama had not yet been rased to the ground (VIII. 3. 4):—events, both of them, which preceded the reign of Tiberius.

The question now forces itself upon us, what is the general value of his work, what the capacity of the author? Had he the conscientiousness and the ability necessary for his undertaking? To this question I shall endeavour to give an answer.

I do not think Bernhardt is justified in speaking of Vitruvius as full of pretensions to omniscience, “voll der Eitelkeit durch Vielwisserei zu glänzen.” Not only does the whole character of his work impress one with a favourable opinion of the man,—take for example, the pleasing tribute to his parents for having implanted in his mind a taste for letters rather than a thirst for wealth,—but the particular care he shews in the seventh Book to acknowledge the sources to which he was indebted, indicates, in my apprehension at least, a desire the very opposite to that which Bernhardt attributes to him. Surely a man who wished to parade his knowledge would not have been at such pains to mention that it was all secondhand. As it is upon the value of these sources that the value of Vitruvius mainly depends, I shall select for our more special consideration passages of which the difficulties, I conceive, are aggravated by corruption of the text. They are both taken from the seventh book.

“Postea *Silenus de symmetriis Doricorum edidit volumen: de æde Junonis, quæ est Sami Dorica, Theodorus: de Ionica Ephesi, quæ est Dianæ, Chersiphron et Metagenes; de fano Minervæ, quod est Prienæ Ionicum, Phileos: item de æde Minervæ Dorica, quæ est Athenis in arce, Tetinus et *Carpion: *Theodorus Phocæus de tholo qui est Delphis: Philo de ædium sacrarum symmetriis et de armamentario, quod fuerat Piræi in

portu: Hermogenes de æde Dianæ Ionica, quæ est Magnesiæ pseudodipteros, et Liberi Patris Teo monopteros: item *Argelius de symmetriis Corinthiis, et Ionico Trallibus Æsculapio, quod etiam ipse sua manu dicitur fecisse: de Mausoleo *Satyrus et Phyteus, quibus vera felicitas summum maximumque contulit munus." A digression here follows on the subject of the aforesaid mausoleum, and then Vitruvius continues as follows: "Præterea minus nobiles multi præcepta symmetriarum conscripserunt, ut *Nexaris, *Theocydes, *Demophilos, *Pollis, *Leonides, *Silanion, *Melampus, *Sarnacus, *Euphranor. Non minus de machinationibus uti Diades, Archytas, Archimedes, Ctesibios, Nymphodorus, Philo Byzantius, Diphilos, Democles, Charidas, Polyidos, Pyrrhos, Agesistratos. Quorum ex commentariis quæ utilia esse his rebus animadverti, collecta in unum coegi corpus, et ideo maxime quod animadverti in ea re ab Græcis volumina plura edita, ab nostris oppido quam pauca."

We must see what we can elicit from these two passages. Those names of architects, or of writers on architecture concerning whom nothing is known from any other quarter, have an asterisk prefixed. I shall pass them over in silence. The remainder will give some valuable additions to our list of artist authors.

I must not venture to enter upon a discussion concerning Theodorus, as the difficulties involved might exhaust the patience of my readers. I can only state as the result at which I have arrived, that of Theodori I believe there was only one, dissenting herein from Mueller, and agreeing with Mr Grote: with this important difference however, that I believe him to be the son of Telecles, not of Rhæcus. Waiving this question, however, I would observe that I find it difficult to reconcile the expression "quæ est . . . Dorica" with the Ionic remains of the temple. Mueller and others get rid of the difficulty by supposing a new temple to have been erected in the place of the Doric edifice, here assigned to Theodorus:—a bold hypothesis, if we consider that it was on essentially Ionic ground the temple stood,—a point of importance when we remember its date,—and that no assignable reason can be given for changing the order of architecture when the re-erection took place. I see nothing for it but to pronounce the text corrupt, unless indeed it could be defended on general considerations, connected with the rise of the two orders. On these, however, I cannot now enter.

It is only fitting that next to the Heræon of Samos Vitruvius should place the Artemision of Chersiphron and Metagenes, for Theodorus it was who, according to a noted story, prepared the ground on which those architects erected the temple in question.

With regard to Phyleos, the architect of the very beautiful temple of Pallas Pollias at Priene (erected about Ol. 110), it seems very generally agreed, from a comparison of various passages in Vitruvius, that one and the same artist figures in that author under four different names, Phyleos, Phyteus, Pythius and Pytheus. This view, in which I agree, identifies the builder of the temple at Priene with that of the Mausoleum mentioned lower down.

Tetinus and his works are too famous to need any comment. I therefore pass on to Philo, the builder of the basin in the Piræus. Sillig and Vossius both conjecture that this Philo may be the same as the μηχανόγραφος, or Philo Byzantius mentioned lower down by Vitruvius among the authors 'de machinationibus.' If the statements under this name in the *Dictionary of Biography and Mythology*, pp. 306, 314, may be relied on, this conjecture would fall to the ground. I am so loath to doubt the accuracy of the writer, which rarely fails him, that I am driven—so plausible is the conjecture—to suspect the trustworthiness of the authorities from whom he has gathered his information with reference to the date of the architect. As to Philo Byzantius, I may mention here, that in the recent edition of his works by Köchly and Rüstow (Leipzig, 1853) one of the most intricate portions of Vitruvius (x. 10 seqq.) meets with hitherto unhopedor elucidation.

The remaining architects and authors enumerated by Vitruvius are too obscure to make it worth our while to pursue the enquiry any further. More than sufficient indications are afforded us, that Vitruvius had invaluable written sources at his command, if he only knew how to use them. To say that he was incapable of doing this, might appear flippant and presumptuous. This much, however, must at least be allowed, that he cannot have availed himself of his resources to the extent that fairly might have been expected from him. An expression of which he somewhere makes use, "nos autem exponimus quemadmodum a præceptoribus accepimus," gives us a very good idea of the way in which he executed his work; I mean, that he copied his

authorities with too great servility, too much like a schoolboy. I doubt whether he had any broad and intelligent views on the origin and development of Hellenic architecture: of the sublimity of the Doric order he seems to have no conception: of the essential, characteristic differences between it and the Ionic or the Corinthian his ideas are vague and confused when they are not utterly false. When we go to him for information on any particular point, we do not find that he has been at pains to discriminate the different styles of architecture which prevailed in each of the orders at different ages. Still less does he appear to have any sort of perception of the fact that architecture, ancient architecture, was but a stem on which the sister arts put forth their buds and blossoms. So that, on the whole, if, as Sir Henry Wotton styles himself in a kindred work, Vitruvius was but "a gatherer and disposer of other men's stuff," we are forced to allow that this is "his best value:" above all must we regret with the accomplished Knight, that "it was in truth an unhappiness to express himself so ill, especially writing as he did in a season of the ablest pens."

Thus have I indicated, to the best of my ability, the more special sources of the "*testimonia litterarum*," on the history of ancient art. I shall get but sorry praise for my labours, if my reader is only half as conscious of their deficiencies—I say it unfeignedly—as I am myself. These testimonies lie scattered indeed over the whole range of ancient literature, as will appear from the sequel of our enquiries, and he would render good service and true to the history of art, who should collect together from classical authors and arrange in due sort *all* the passages, that bear indirectly on the theory, the practice, and the history of ancient art. I believe the charm and value of Zoega's works rest chiefly on this, that it was on such a solid foundation, such a thorough sifting of the "*testimonia litterarum*," in the widest sense, that this eminent man erected his noble and lasting superstructure of archæological lore. The like intention was professed, and I have little doubt executed, by Winckelmann. A far humbler task has here been mine:—a task, for the irksomeness of which I shall be amply repaid, if I should succeed in calling attention to a department of ancient literature, which I believe to have been more extensive than is commonly supposed, and to be deserving of higher appreciation than it has hitherto met with

in this country. In this present article I have mustered my forces. In future articles I hope to bring them into action with the view of deciding one of the most perplexing questions in the history of ancient art; the practice of polychromy in the architecture and sculpture of Greece. These pages will probably fall into the hands of men, from whom it must ever be my pride to learn. I only hope that any errors they may detect, they will not be slow to denounce. Thus shall Truth prevail, and Knowledge grow.

C. KNIGHT WATSON.

VIII.

On some passages in Lucretius.

IN the first number of this Journal p. 36 I illustrated Lucretius' use of the word *æther* by a similar use of *αἰθήρ* in a verse of Empedocles. I should have also quoted another passage which Lucretius has more directly imitated. It is thus given in Aristotle de gen. et corr. p. 333 b 1 Bekk. *πυρὶ γὰρ αἰξεί* (Ἐμπεδοκλῆς) τὸ πῦρ. "αἰξεί δὲ χθὼν μὲν σφέτερον γένος (one MS. δέμας) αἰθέρα δ' αἰθήρ." In fact Empedocles employs the word very much in the same way as Lucretius. He often uses it poetically instead of *αἴρ*, although he distinguishes between them, when it is necessary for his purpose, as in v. 184 Karsten Γαῖά τε καὶ πόντος πολυκύμων ἡδ' ὑγρὸς αἴρ, Τῖτάν ἡδ' αἰθήρ σφίγγων περὶ κύκλον ἅπαντα. The last verse is imitated by Lucretius v, 469, 470.

I have however a more serious retractation to make. I dont know by what oversight I proposed in p. 41 of the above paper to read in iv, 1130 *ac chlamydem*, as I was well aware of the limitation of the use of *ac*; I still believe however that Lucretius wrote *Interdum in pallam* AUT CHLAMYDEM SE *Ciaque vertunt.*

In consequence of his frequent reiterations of the same thoughts and expressions Lucretius can generally be best illus-

trated from himself. Thus an emendation which I gave in p. 40 of the very corrupt passage v, 312, though it may appear violent, receives I think very great confirmation from other passages, II, 447 *In quo jam genere in primis adamantina saxa Prima acie constant ictus contemnere sueta Et validi SILICES ac duri robora FERRI ÆRAQUE quæ claustris restantia vociferantur*; also I, 571, II, 103.

He also sometimes receives illustration from his imitators; thus an emendation of IV, 79, which I proposed in p. 41, is I think confirmed by a passage of the *Æneid* v, 340, perhaps suggested by this passage of Lucretius, *Hic TOTUM CAVEÆ CONSESSUM INGENTIS et ora PRIMA PATRUM magnis Salus clamoribus implet*: the senators probably being very conspicuous from their dress and prominent position in the orchestra. One might compare also Tacitus Ann. XIII, 54 *Intravere Pompeii theatrum, quo magnitudinem populi viserent. illic per otium . . . dum CONSESSUM CAVEÆ, discrimina ordinum, quis eques, UBI SENATUS percunctantur, advertere quosdam cultu externo in SEDIBUS SENATORUM, . . . degrediunturque et inter PATRES considunt.*

As is generally the case when a text is derived ultimately from a single manuscript, verses have dropped out in many parts of Lucretius through the carelessness of the original transcriber. Of this I will give one or two instances, not yet noticed by any editor. In I, 190 the word *crescentes*, which has nothing to agree with, has occasioned much difficulty. Some have read *crescendo* instead of it, but Lachmann has shewn that that does not give the sense required. I do not like his emendation *crescere resque*, for the words *crescentesque genus servant* seem to me truly Lucretian. I am convinced that a line has been lost between 189 and 190, and unless I much deceive myself, I think I can restore almost the very words of Lucretius. In the preceding verses he has been proving the dogma that nothing can be produced out of nothing. For otherwise any one thing might be produced out of any other, men might rise from the sea, fish from the earth, any tree might bear any fruit, &c. But this is not so, for all things are produced *seminibus certis*, from certain fixed seeds. This is shewn in 159—173; then 174 begins a new argument. If things could come from nothing, no fixed season nor space of time would be required for the growth of things; but this is not the case, for all things are produced *tempore certo*, at a fixed time, as well as from a fixed seed. Then 188 he thus concludes

Quorum nil fieri manifestum est, omnia quando Paulatim crescunt, ut par est, semine certo RES QUONIAM CRESCUNT OMNES ET TEMPORE CERTO, Crescentesque genus servant; for I would thus complete the imperfect sentence, the similar ending of two consecutive verses would easily account for the loss of one of them.

I will proceed to emend on this principle another corrupt passage I, 1114 *Hæc sic pernosces parva perductus opella*. Lachmann reads *scio* for *sic*, *perdoctus* for *perductus*; Bernays *sis pernoscas* and *perdoctus*; neither rightly in my opinion. It is in complete contradiction to all that precedes to say, 'These doctrines, I am sure, you will thoroughly master with very slight pains;' for there is no point on which Lucretius more insists, than the extreme obscurity and abstruseness of his subject, and the difficulty he expects to find in getting Memmius to understand his doctrines. But he does say, especially in I, 400—417, a passage which should be compared with this, that when once the principles of his philosophy are mastered, the rest will be an easy task. Compare for instance 402 *Verum animo satis hæc vestigia parva sagaci Sunt per quæ possis cognoscere cetera tute: Namque canes ut . . . Sic alid ex alio per te tute ipse videre Talibus in rebus poteris &c.* I would read therefore in our present passage *Hæc SEI pernosces, parva perductus opella CETERA JAM POTERIS PER TE TUTE IPSE VIDERE; Namque alid ex alio clarescet, &c.* 'If you will thoroughly master what I have already said, then carried on to the end with very little labour you will be able by yourself to understand all the rest.' *Sei* has been changed into *sic* from that frequent source of corruption in the older writers, viz. the copyists' ignorance of the more ancient spelling. Many passages of Lucretius have thus been corrupted; one of which I think I can emend. In VI, 1195 MSS. have *inoretiaacet* or *inhoretiaacet rictum*, for which Lachmann reads *inhorrescens rictum* with Rutgersius; but I feel sure that the older editors are right in retaining *in ore*, as the other parts of the face are all particularised; what then is *tiacet*? I believe that the *-et* is a corruption of *-ei*, the old ablative termination of an epithet agreeing with *ore*, (see instances of this spelling in Lachmann's notes to IV, 602 and VI, 1143) and that we should read *Compressæ nares, nasi primoris acumen Tenue, cavati oculi, cava tempora, frigida pellis Duraque, IN ORE TRUCEI rictum, frons tenta tumebat*. 'On the grim mouth a grin' is a fine image of horror, with which may be

compared Milton's *Death grinned horrible a ghastly smile*, and Spenser's *Grinning griesly*.

But not only have verses frequently been lost by the transcriber's carelessness, many have also been foisted in by the would-be philosopher who wished sometimes to explain, sometimes to refute his author. Lachmann has with great acuteness detected many of these, but I am persuaded that others still remain in his text. Thus he vainly attempts by transposition to give a sense to the unmeaning verse III, 362 *Sensus enim trahit atque acies detrudit ad ipsas*. It is clearly a gloss to explain the unintelligible *ducat* of the preceding line, which Lambinus has rightly changed to *dicat*. Bernays is therefore quite right in putting 362 between brackets. II, 453 *Namque papaveris haustus itemst facilis quod aquarum* is to my mind nonsense and only interrupts the sense of the passage. Again II, 923 *Sic itidem quæ sentimus sentire necessest*, as transposed by Lachmann or Bernays, only confuses the argument. I think it certain that it is only a stupid attempt to obviate the objection contained in 919—922: 'in this case they necessarily must feel the things which we feel in the same way that we do,' in order, I presume, to prevent the jumble and medley in question. Again III, 410 and 411 are surely part of the same marginal gloss to which belong 412 and 415 rightly omitted by Lachmann.

I will now, in addition to those I gave in the first number, offer a few emendations which appear to me probable, where the corruption has been caused by the omission of one or more letters similar to or the same as those which precede or follow. In I, 289 is the corrupt *Ruit qua quidquid fluctibus obstat*. I don't like Lachmann's *ruitque ita*, and still less Bernays' *ruunt quæ*. Repeat the letters in *qua* and all will be clear. He is illustrating the invisible effects of wind by the visible effects of water, *Nec ratione fluunt alia stragemque propagant Et cum mollis aquæ fertur natura . . . ita magno turbidus imbri Molibus incurrit validis cum viribus amnis, Dat sonitu magno stragem, volvitque sub undis Grandia saxa; ruit Q. AQUA quidquid fluctibus obstat. Sic igitur debent venti quoque flamina ferri*. Thus in II, 68 our MSS. have *quanquidemus*, and in I, 562 *quamque demus* for *quamque videmus*. In II, 305 a word is wanting. I do not like Lachmann's addition of *seorsum* at the end, because something seems necessary after *quicquam est*; this in my opinion should be *extra*

(*estra*): *Nam neque quo possit genus ullum materiai Effugere ex omni quicquam est EXTRA, neque in omne Unde, &c.* Compare v, 361 *Sicut summarum summa est teterna, neque EXTRA Qui locus est quo dissiliant*, and I, 963 *Nunc EXTRA summam quoniam nil esse fatendum, non habet extremum*. For the corrupt *incohibescit* in III, 444 neither Lachmann's nor Bernays' corrections are to me satisfactory. I propose to read *Aere qui credas posse hanc cohiberier ullo, Corpore qui nostro rarus magis IN QUO HABITET SIT*; "how can you believe that the soul, which the body cannot hold, can be contained by any air, which would be much more rare and porous a habitation for it than our body is." The elision of the long monosyllable and the cadence of the end of the second verse appear to me peculiarly Lucretian. *In quo habitet sit* might easily become first *inquohabetsit*, and then *incohibescit*. In IV, 804 *Nisi quæ ex se ipse paravit* should probably be *Nisi quæ ex HISCE ipse paravit*. The way in which Lachmann dislocates and explains v, 969 appears to me most improbable and quite intolerable. Nearly all previous editors from Avantius downwards rightly place 975 after 967. But how is the imperfect verse 969 *Sætigerisque pares subus silvestria membra* to be completed? I believe in this way: *Sætigerisque pares subu' sic silvestria membra. Sic* is οὐτως, *temere, sic temere*. 'Like to bristly swine, quite carelessly, just as it might happen, they threw their savage limbs all naked on the ground.'

It is an equally common error to repeat wrongly the same letters. In I, 1033 we find the imperfect verse *Fota novet fetus summaque gens animantum*. 'Prorsus egregie Marullus SUMMISSAQUE,' says Lachmann. To me *summissa* seems inadmissible; flowers, trees, &c. are sent up from the earth; but certainly Lucretius did not mean to say that the earth gave forth men or beasts in his day, whatever it might have done at their first creation: that was quite contrary to his philosophy: see v, 826 *Sed quia finem aliquam pariendi debet habere, Destitit, ut mulier spatio defessa vetusto*. I believe that the *s* of *summa* has come from the *s* of *fetus*, and that we should read UNORSAQUE *gens animantum Floreat*. In II, 1033 Lachmann should not have altered *essent*; it is the *sint* of 1034 which is in fault. I would read *Omnia quæ nunc si primum mortalibus essent, Ex improvise si NUNC objecta repente. Si* has been wrongly repeated and *nunc* written in a contracted form. The variation of *nunc si, si nunc*

appears to me Lucretian; compare v, 332 *Quare etiam quædam nunc artes expoliuntur, Nunc etiam augescunt.*

I will now attempt to supply a defect of a different kind. In i, 555 we find this faulty verse *Conceptum summum ætatis pervadere finis*. The attempts of previous editors to emend it have not been successful. Marullus read *florem* for *finis*. But that will not do, as Lachmann has well shewn that *pervadere* with an accusative cannot mean to 'arrive at,' but only 'to pass through,' so that you would have to read at all events *ad summum*. Wakefield's *finem* is open to the same objection, as well as to the additional one that *finis* is always feminine in Lucretius. But Lachmann's own reading I cannot approve of. For *summum* he reads *summa* and explains it to mean *universo vivendi actu*, and *ætatis pervadere finis* he says is *per omne vitæ spatium vadere*. I feel convinced that *finis* is a mere interpolation, the true word having perished and a corrector of the original manuscript having perhaps hit upon *finis* because it ends so many of the following verses. This verse 555 concluded the 23rd page of that lost original manuscript from which our manuscripts are all derived, mediately or immediately. Now the 23rd page is on the right hand, and therefore the last word of such a page would be more exposed to damage than perhaps any other. We see from the latter part of this book how greatly the archetype must have been injured in some parts of it, and the last words of several of the corresponding contiguous pages shew signs of mutilation; 606 *Agmine condenso* &c. is the last line of the 25th or next corresponding page; there we find at the end *explet* for *expleat*; but that proves little. The last line however of the 27th page viz. 657 *Sed quia multa* &c. has its last word more mutilated; we find there *muse* or *mu*, which as I said in the first number should I think be *nasci*. In 708 the concluding verse of the 29th page the last word *putarunt* was probably in part illegible, as we find in our MSS. *putant* or *putantur*. The last word of 759 the concluding verse of the 31st page is also mutilated; we there find *vene* for *veneno*; the last word of the preceding line is also imperfect, *habes* for *habebis*. Two other verses of this page viz. 748 and 752 are mutilated at the end. I have little doubt as to what word should take the place of *finis*. *Pervadere cursum* would in itself make good sense, 'to pass through the career of life,' but the epithet *summum* renders that inadmissible. We

require then the preposition *ad*; and comparing π , 1121 *Hic natura suis refrenat viribus auctum*, and ν , 846 *Nequiquam, quoniam natura absterruit auctum, Nec potuere cupitum ætatis tangere florem*, I do not doubt that Lucretius wrote *Ut nil ex illis a certo tempore posset Conceptum summum ætatis pervadere* *AD AUCTUM*.

The folio Leyden manuscript by a happy chance has marked the exact number of verses, viz. eight, which have been lost after ι , 1093. As a casual reader of Lucretius may have perhaps but a confused notion of his argument in this place owing to the stupid negligence of Havercamp and the carelessness of so many previous editors who tacitly adopted Marullus' unmeaning interpolation, I will venture to supply the eight missing verses. What their general drift was cannot be doubtful. First of all the sentence left incomplete by the words *Nisi a terris paulatim cuique cibatum* has to be finished; then must have followed an apodosis to the long protasis begun at 1083 by *Præterea quoniam* &c., and this apodosis must have asserted that the argument of the Stoics was not only false as shewn in 1052—1082, but also self-contradictory; then must have commenced the Epicurean answer to the whole Stoic argument which began at 1052, and this answer must have joined on to the words *Ne volucris ritu flammæ &c.* This then is the way I would presume to complete what is wanting:

1094 *dædala sufficiat rerum natura creatrix,
scilicet incerto diversi errore vagantes
argumenta sibi prorsum pugnantia fingunt.*

*Quæ tamen omnia sunt falsa ratione recepta.
nam quoniam docui spatium sine fine modoque
inmensumque patere in cunctas undique partis,
sic parili ratione necesse est suppeditetur
infinita etiam vis undique materiali,*

1102 *ne volucris ritu flammæ, &c.*

H. M.

IX.

On the Hebrew Cubit.

MEASURES of length have among all nations been borrowed from the parts of the human body. In primitive times it was the simplest and most natural way of obtaining a standard of measurement. The finger-breadth, the hand-breath or palm, the span, the foot, the ell or cubit were all in the first instance intended to denote the measures of the various parts of the body indicated by the names. This system of measurement was however imperfect: no two men's bodies were exactly of the same size, nor were the lengths of the smaller parts of the body exact subdivisions of the lengths of the larger. The progress of civilization among the different nations rendered a fixed standard necessary, and required that the smaller measures should be corrected so as to become exact subdivisions of the greater, or the greater corrected so as to become exact multiples of the smaller. Fixed standards of length were accordingly adopted, and both they and their multiples and subdivisions were still called by the old names. But as each nation fixed its own standard, and own system of multiples and divisions, the same names were applied by different nations to measures of different length. As the English foot, the Paris foot, and the Dresden foot all differ in our own days, so the Roman ell, the Greek ell, and the Egyptian ell all differed in ancient times. In some cases the same nation had more than one standard: thus it will be seen below that the Egyptians had two distinct cubits both of which were greater than what they regarded as the average ell of the human body. The actual length of the ell of any nation can therefore only be determined by historical evidence.

The term ell or cubit itself has been differently interpreted to mean the length of the arm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, the root of the finger, or the wrist. But the hieroglyphical sign for an ell renders it certain that the Egyptians understood by it the first of these lengths.

The ordinary reckoning of the Hebrews was by cubits. As distinctive expressions, to shew what sort of cubit was meant, we find:

The cubit after the cubit of a man: אמה באמת-איש. Deut. iii. 11.

The cubit after the first measure: אמה במדה הראשונה. 2 Chron. iii. 3.

The cubit by the cubit and an handbreadth: אמה באמה אמה אצילה or, great cubit. Ezek. xl. 5: xli. 8. xliii. 13.

The cubit (so rendered in our English version), by which Ehud's sword was measured: גמך. (Judges iii. 16.)

The last of these should clearly not be called a cubit; and, for want of a better term, it will be advisable to retain the Hebrew name *gomed*. Its probable length will be considered hereafter. The phrase *great cubit*, in Ezek. xli. 8, appears to be a mistranslation from the Hebrew; the term אצילה referring to the chambers, not to the kind of cubit. And with regard to the "cubit after the cubit of a man," which occurs in the account of the size of Og's bedstead, it evidently expresses the average length of a man's arm, and belongs to the primitive method of measuring roughly by the ordinary length of some part of the human body, instead of by some definite standard of artificial exactness.

From the remaining passages, bearing in mind that the Books of Chronicles were written after the Babylonish captivity, it seems to be the fair conclusion that the cubit which was previously in use, was, at the time of the captivity, replaced by another cubit, which was a handbreadth longer. This conclusion is taken as the basis of the following calculation.

If it be asked, whether the Jews did, at one and the same time, employ cubits of different lengths for different purposes, it can only be answered, that such a supposition, although possible, has no scripture evidence in its favour: and consequently the Rabbinic distinction of a sacred cubit, used in measuring the temple, and a vulgar cubit, used in measuring vessels, must be set aside.

Does now the Bible furnish us with any means of determining the absolute length either of the earlier or later Hebrew cubit? In 1 Kings vii. 23—26 we have the description of Solomon's molten sea, which was "ten cubits from one brim to the other: it was round all about, and his height was five cubits:

and a line of thirty cubits did compass it round about." This sea, we are told, contained two thousand baths: the Book of Chronicles says, three thousand, 2 Chron. iv. 5; but there can be little doubt that the number in the Book of Kings is correct. From the volume, thus given, Thenius* has ingeniously endeavoured to determine the exact linear dimensions of the sea—and consequently, the length of the cubit, which he thus calculates at 4839 metres (= 1·5876 Eng. feet). But his calculation will not stand, for two reasons. First, the measure, which he assumes for the bath, is based on the Rabbinic assertion that a log (the 72nd part of a bath) was equal in volume to six moderate sized hens' eggs. But the size of a hen's egg is obviously too loose a datum on which to base a nice calculation. Few of the values assigned to the cubit would differ from each other by more than three inches. Secondly, the form of the molten sea is unknown. Josephus understood it to be semi-circular; and although Thenius has shewn that it is difficult to assent to this supposition, yet his own hypothesis, that the sea was cylindrical, or rather, that its irregularities compensated for each other in such a manner that its volume was the same as if it had been cylindrical, is perfectly arbitrary. All that Thenius can be said to have established, is, that his own calculation cannot be much in excess of the truth†.

The Hebrew records therefore do not enable us to determine, independently, the length of the Hebrew cubit: and we are driven back to the consideration of the source whence this cubit was derived. Now it would seem to admit of little doubt that the Hebrew cubit was imported from Egypt. In the same year that the Israelites came out of Egypt, the measures of the tabernacle, ark, altar, &c. were divinely prescribed in terms which shew that the cubit was then a fixed and definite measure‡; and it could hardly have been different from the cubit to which the Israelites had been accustomed in Egypt. And the very existence of the tabernacle, ark and altar, would serve to perpetuate the same national standard of length in the land of inheritance.

* 'Die althebraischen Längen und Hohlmasse;' in 'Studien und Kritiken.' 1846. p. 73 seqq: whence much of the matter of the present article has been derived.

† It does however singularly accord with the truth, as will be seen hereafter.

* ‡ Ex. xxv. seqq.

Now the Egyptian measures are known to us with great exactness from two standard cubits found in Egypt, of which the one is now in the Turin Museum, the other in the Louvre at Paris. A full description of these may be found in the paper of Thenius on the subject*. The hieroglyphics upon them shew that they are both cubits of the kind known as the royal cubit. The length of the former has been measured at $\cdot 5235463$ metres, or about 1.7176 Eng. feet: that of the second at $\cdot 52300$ metres, or 1.7159 Eng. feet. Other less accurate computations of the royal cubit are those made from the king's chamber in the Great Pyramid; Newton reckoning at 1.719 feet, Arbuthnot at 1.7325 feet. The still existing Nilometers have been supposed to furnish another means of calculating the length of the Egyptian cubit; and the devakh of the Nilometer of Elephantine has been measured at 233.61 Paris lines, or 1.729 Eng. feet; while the mean length of the devakh of the Nilometer of the Isle of Rûdah is $\cdot 540375$ metres, or 1.7729 Eng. feet†. No satisfactory proof has however yet been given of the identity of the devakh with the ancient royal cubit of Egypt: the Nilometers do not reach back beyond the times of the Ptolemies.

But besides the royal cubit, there seems also to have been an older cubit in use in Egypt, which was shorter than the former. The proof of this is to be found in the hieroglyphics placed over the several divisions of the two standard cubits just mentioned: hieroglyphics which have been to a certain extent successfully interpreted by Thenius, though there still remain several difficulties to be cleared up, especially on those points where there is a seeming disagreement between the two standards. Each of these standard cubits is divided into 28 finger-breadths: of which 4 seem to have constituted a hand-breadth; 11 a simple or natural span (denoted by the mark of a span with a sparrow placed before it;) 23 a simple or natural ell (denoted by the mark of an ell with a sparrow before it)‡; while between

* 'Studien und Kritiken,' 1846. p. 297 seqq.

† Le Père in 'Description de l'Égypte,' Etat Moderne, II. Pt. 2, p. 550. His measurement seems to be more accurate than that of Greaves. A considerable error in the length of the devakh has been committed by Hussey in his reduc-

tion of French lines to English inches, 'Essay on Ancient Weights,' &c. p. 237, and has been copied into the Dictionary of Antiquities, under the article "Pes."

‡ The Egyptians therefore computed a man's natural span at about 8 inches, and his ell at about 17. This shews they were a small race.

15 and 16 seem to have corresponded to the length of the ell measured only as far as the wrist; this is denoted by an arm with a line drawn through the wrist to shew that the hand is cut off. Again, 13 of the above finger-breadths seem to have made up another kind of span, denoted by a span with an unknown mark, resembling a club, before it; and these first 13 finger-breadths are distinguished on two of the five faces of the standard by a different style of marking: and from this circumstance, and from the seemingly intentional irregularity of the lengths of the different finger-breadths, Thenius has, by a train of reasoning too long to be here repeated, arrived at the conclusion, that there was an older Egyptian ell, double in length of the last mentioned span, and containing 26 out of the 28 finger-breadths of the royal ell. The mean of four different computations gives the length of this older ell at .484289 metres or 1.5889 Eng. feet.

This result Thenius shews to be remarkably confirmed by the dimensions of a building of primitive antiquity to the east of the third Pyramid of Gizeh, which are all multiples—approximately—of the length .4833 metres, or 1.5856 Eng. feet. It would perhaps be the safer course to assume this as the length of the old Egyptian ell: and it would be extremely desirable that the building should be more accurately measured, the French having only given the dimensions in metres to one place of decimals*.

We cannot suppose that the Hebrew ell, which was increased by a hand-breadth at the time of the Babylonish captivity, was originally so large as the royal ell of Egypt: but we may with great probability consider it as identical with this older Egyptian ell. It seems therefore to have consisted of 2 spans, or $6\frac{1}{2}$ hand-breadths. The later Hebrew cubit was one hand-breadth greater: but we cannot tell whether it was divided into $7\frac{1}{2}$ of the old hand-breadths, or whether a new mode of division was adopted. It is probable that the later Hebrew cubit was the same as the Babylonian, and was adopted by the Jews during the captivity.

With regard to the *gomed*, the etymological sense of the term is "cut off;" and when we recollect that the Egyptians had a measure derived from the length of the arm from the elbow to the wrist, and which was hieroglyphically represented by the ell *cut off* at the wrist, what can appear more natural than that

* 'Description de l'Égypte,' v. p. 652 seqq.

'Gomed' should have been the Hebrew name of this measure? This, as we have seen, is marked on the standard ell at between 15 and 16 finger-breadths.

The approximate values of the Hebrew measures of length will therefore be as follows:

	In English Feet.	In French Metres.
Finger-breadth	·0610	·0186
Hand-breadth (= 4 fing. brs.)	·2439	·0744
Span (= 13 fing. brs.) . . .	·7928	·2417
Gomed (between 15 & 16 fing. brs.)	{ a little less than a foot }	
Cubit or ell (= 2 spans) . . .	1·5856	·4833
Later cubit	1·8295	·5577

The value thus obtained for the later Hebrew cubit is corroborated by one of the few existing remnants of Jewish architecture. The south side of the Haram esh-Sherif at Jerusalem, on which the Jewish temple is supposed to have stood, is, according to the best measurement, 915 feet in length*. Now the tract of the Mishna called Middoth says that each side of the Temple measured 500 cubits. Dividing 915 feet by 500 we get 1·83 feet, which accords almost exactly with the value of the later Hebrew cubit just given. I would not lay too much stress on the talmudic statement, because it may have been derived from the account of the Temple in the vision of Ezekiel (Ezek. xlii. 19, 20: where the LXX. gives the true reading, not "reeds," but "cubits"). But it is difficult to believe that the coincidence is the result of mere accident.

A Sabbath-day's journey is reckoned in the Talmud and by Origen at 2000 cubits. It is reckoned by Epiphanius at 6 stadia. This would give for the length of the cubit 1·8205 feet, which does not differ much from the preceding value. The distance of the Mount of Olives from Jerusalem, which is called a Sabbath-day's journey in the New Testament (Acts i. 12), is stated by Josephus in one passage at 6, in another at 5 stadia. (*B. J.* v. 2, 3. *Ant.* xx. 8, 6.)

The measures of the temple in the vision of Ezekiel are given in reeds of 6 large cubits in length. The measure of this reed will therefore, according to our reckoning, be 10·977 feet. It is probable that such reeds were in use with the Babylonians.

* Robinson's 'Bibliotheca Sacra,' 1843, p. 23.

The Greeks employed in land-surveying a rod ten Greek feet—or 10·114 Eng. feet—long. This measure they called *ἄκανα*. The name does not seem to be of Greek etymology; may it not be derived from the Aramaic אֲכָנָא, and may not the rod have been borrowed from the Babylonians? If it was adjusted so as to be exactly equal to ten Greek feet, we need not suppose that it agreed exactly in length with the Babylonian rod from which it was borrowed.

I have said that the later Hebrew cubit was probably derived from the Babylonians. Herodotus (I. 178) measures the walls of Babylon by royal cubits, which he tells us were 3 finger-breadths greater than the common (Greek) cubit. These royal cubits therefore measured 1·707 Eng. feet. They evidently did not differ much from the royal cubits of Egypt. I think it more likely that they were Persian than Babylonian cubits. Babylon, or rather, what remained of it, was in the time of Herodotus under Persian rule: and, as the term *βασιλεύς* was by the Greeks always applied to the Persian monarch, the term “royal” may have been a mere synonym for “Persian.” No argument therefore can be drawn from these royal cubits of Herodotus as to the length of the later Hebrew cubit.

J. F. THRUFP.

Adversaria.

I. On a passage of *Sophocles*.

In *Soph. Œd. Tyr.* 862, the common reading is

οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν πράξαιμ' ἂν ὧν οὐ σοὶ φίλον.

I strongly suspect that we should read

οὐδὲν γὰρ οὖν πράξαιμ' ἂν, κ.τ.λ.

for independently of the exact applicability of the expression γὰρ οὖν, I do not see any particular reason in this passage why the ἂν should be repeated *at all*, to say nothing of its being repeated at so short an interval.

In *Œd. Col.* 980, this very expression γὰρ οὖν is corrupted into γὰρ ἂν in the Vatican Manuscript (see *Elmsl. ad l.*)

In Eur. *Med.* 585 also, where the right reading seems to be

ἐν γὰρ ἐκρενέι σ' ἔπος,

we have the same variation, the manuscript Rom. C.—the same, by the way, as the Vatican of Sophocles just referred to (see Elmsl. *Præf.* ad *Æd. Col.* p. iv)—giving ἐν γὰρ οὖν κρενέι σ' ἔπος, while the Flor. MS. has ἐν γὰρ ἄν κρενέι σ' ἔπος. Nor will any one feel surprised that such should be the case, when he considers how slight a difference there is between *ou* and *a*, if the *v* of the diphthong be carelessly written so as nearly to join the *o*.

S.

UNIVERSITY PITT CLUB,
May 8, 1854.

II. *On a passage of Minucius Felix.*

Min. Felix. Cap. xvi. § 4. p. 91, Holden. Quid igitur? ut *quia rectam viam nescit*, ubi, ut fit, in plures una diffinditur, qui viam nescit, hæret anxius, &c. Surely this is an extremely awkward sentence. The position of the two expressions *quia r. v. nesc.* and *qui r. v. n.* seems to indicate that the latter has crept into the text from the copyist's eye falling on the former in the line above. If instead of "*quia*" we read "*qui*", the harshness complained of will disappear. Quid igitur? ut qui rectam viam nescit ubi ut fit in plures una diff. hæret a.

J. B.

III. *On some passages of Niebuhr's Lectures on Ancient Ethnography and Geography.*

[The following corrections of Niebuhr's Lectures have been sent to us, accompanied by a preface and conclusion which it is unnecessary to print. Some explanations of difficulties are also omitted, as sufficiently obvious to any careful reader of Niebuhr. We take this opportunity of assuring our correspondents that corrections of errors in important works need no apology: the more tersely they are expressed, the better. We cannot however undertake to insert mere detached corrections of *editor's notes* on classical authors, unless they throw collateral light on some matter of interest.]

1. In his account of Elis, Vol. I. p. 78, Niebuhr says, "Elis had coal-mines which were worked, but according to Theophrastus the smiths preferred the Massilian coal." If the lecturer drew his information from Theophrastus's Treatise *περὶ λίθων*, it is plain that his memory altogether failed him; for Theophrastus asserts directly the contrary. His words are (p. 690, ed. Schneider), *Εἰσὶ δὲ* (sc. *ἄνθρακες*) *περὶ τε τὴν Λιγυστικήν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἠλείᾳ βαδίζόντων Ὀλυμπίαζε τὴν δι' ὅρους, οἷς καὶ οἱ χαλκεῖς χρῶνται.* But the Massilian *ἄνθραξ* was of a totally different nature, and incombustible. He writes a little lower down, *ἄλλο δὲ τι γένος ἐστὶ λίθων ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐναντίων πεφυκός, ἄκαυστον ὄλως, ἄνθραξ καλούμενος, ἐξ οὗ καὶ σφραγίδια γλύφουσιν—ἄγεται δὲ οὗτος ἐκ Καρχηδόνης καὶ Μασσαλίας.*

2. In p. 305 he says, "I will take this opportunity of recalling to your mind the passage in Strabo which contains the words *πηγαὶ χλιαροῦ ἀσφάλτου*. The MSS. have *καὶ ἀσφάλτου*, but the *καὶ* has been thrown out by the editors. I believe that by some mistake *ὑδατος* is omitted, and that we must read *πηγαὶ χλιαροῦ ὑδατος καὶ ἀσφάλτου*. Innumerable emendations have yet to be made in Strabo, and it is to be regretted that his work has not yet found an editor possessing a thorough knowledge of the Greek language, for Casaubon edited it with too much haste." Now as to this particular passage, Casaubon is altogether without blame. It is true that after the fashion of his day he did not place his correction in the text, but he subjoined the following note (p. 487 ed. Amst. 458 ed. Oxon.), "*Scripti χλιαροῦ καὶ ἀσφάλτου, et ita legas, χλιαροῦ videlicet ὑδατος.*" Where by the way Casaubon is more correct than Niebuhr in affirming that *ὑδατος* is to be understood, not supplied, just as *calda* is used frequently in Latin without *aqua*.

3 Let me notice one more little inaccuracy in Vol. II. p. 40, "Pliny states in the same breath that a lake had covered the same country as late as the time of Theophrastus. The latter indeed speaks of islands, but had not seen them himself." He should have said an island, with both Pliny and Theophrastus. The former, Lib. III. c. 9, *Circeii quondam insula immenso quidem mari circumdata—Theophrastus Circeiorum insulæ mensuram posuit stadia octoginta.* Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. v. 8, p. 194, *Πρότερον μὲν οὖν νήσον εἶναι τὸ Κιρκαῖον—τῆς δὲ νήσου τὸ μέγεθος ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίου.*

IV. *Platonica*, (ed. Stallb. codd. Bekk.)

Crat. 385 A. Σ. ἴσως μέντοι τι λέγεις, ὃ Ἑρμόγενης· σκεψάμεθα δέ.
ὁ ἄν θῆ καλεῖν τις ἕκαστον, τοῦθ' ἑκάστω ὄνομα; Ἑ. Ἑμοιγε δοκεῖ.
Σ. Κἂν ἰδιώτης καλῇ, κἂν πόλις; Ἑ. Φημί.

Septem codices habent φῆς pro θῆ, unus καλῇ pro καλεῖν, et pro τοῦθ' in nonnullis legitur τοῦτ' ἔστιν: ex quibus lectionibus compone illa ὁ ἄν θῆ—ὄνομα, nihil mutans præter interpunctionem, hunc in modum: ὁ ἄν, φῆς, καλῇ τις ἕκαστον, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἑκάστω ὄνομα; Nunc demum ipsa hæc bene se habent et sequentia Κἂν—καλῇ cum illis ὁ ἄν—καλῇ conveniunt. Exempla verbi φάναυ sic interpositi, eodem flagitante sensu, passim obvia. Infra vel idem hic dialogus in 428 E hoc suppeditat:—ἰδωμεν, τί ἡμῖν εἴρηται. ὀνόματος, φαμέν, ὀρθότης ἐστὶν αὐτῇ, ἥτις ἐνδείξεται κτέ. Nam huc non trahenda quale in 385 D, quorum aliam constructionis esse rationem vel tirones, opinor, vident: Σ. ὁ ἄν ἄρ' ἕκαστος φῆ τῷ ὄνομα εἶναι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἑκάστω ὄνομα; quamquam hæc quoque pessime habita et postremum ἑκάστω et mox sequentium (Ἥ καὶ ὁπόσ' ἄν φῆ τις ἑκάστω ὀνόματα εἶναι) constructio clamat a Platone sic scripta fuisse: ὁ ἄν ἄρ' ἑκάστω φῆ τις ὄνομα κτέ. Eodem modo nihil fere mutando corrigendus locus Gorg. 462 D. Σ. Βούλει οὖν—συμκρόν τί μοι χαρίσασθαι; Π. Ἐγωγε. Σ. Ἐροῦ νῦν με, ὀψοποιία ἥτις μοι δοκεῖ τέχνη εἶναι. Π. Ἐρωτῶ δὴ, τίς τέχνη ὀψοποιία; Σ. Οὐδεμία, ὃ Πῶλε. Π. Ἀλλὰ τί; φάθι. Σ. Φημί δὴ, ἐμπειρία τις. Π. Τίνος; φάθι. Σ. Φημί δὴ, χάριτος καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀπεργασίας, ὃ Πῶλε. Π. Ταῦτόν ἄρ' ἐστὶν ὀψ. καὶ ῥητ.; Utrumque enim φάθι, quemadmodum ἐροῦ, Socrati est tribuendum et utrumque φημί δὴ cum illo ἐρωτῶ δὴ Polo. Arist. Eqq. 22. Demosthenes, jubente et præeunte Nicia, dicit μόλωμεν et αὐτό.

Δ. καὶ δὴ λέγω, μόλωμεν. Ν. ἐξόπισθε νῦν
αὐτὸ φάθι τοῦ μόλωμεν. Δ. αὐτό.

ubi φάθι præeuntis est Niciæ. Itaque illa Σ. Οὐδεμία—χάριτος corrupta sunt ex his Σ. Οὐδεμία, ὃ Πῶλε. ἀλλὰ τί φάθι. Π. Φημί δὴ, ἀλλὰ τί; Σ. Ἐμπειρία τις. τίνος φάθι. Π. Φημί δὴ, τίνος; Σ. Χάριτος καὶ ἡδ. κτέ. Semel enim male divisus verbis inter personas, omni prorsus sensu carentia hæc ἀλλὰ τί et τίνος deinde omisisse librariorum nihil mirum, qui, genuina scriptione obscurata atque oblitterata, speciem quamdam sensus et constructionis venantes omnibus modis textum mutarunt: quod utinam ne fecissent, quum nunc tantum in iis locis corruptiones deprehendere atque indicare possimus iisque

tantum mederi, in quibus lectio aliqua forte fortuna superstes genuinæ scriptionis vestigium servavit vel in quibus constans quædam ac frequentata dictio nec non constructio alienam arguit manum. Cujus rei exemplum sint, præter superiora, quæ non leguntur in Gorg. 462 E. ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡ ῥητορικὴ, ἦν Γοργίας ἐπιτηδεύει, οὐκ οἶδα, unus tantum codex habet δ pro ἦν; idque repositum bonum reddit hunc sensum: *ego vero nescio utrum id, quod Gorgias exercet, sit rhetorica*. Nam in illis versis, uti Græcitas postulat, sic: *ego vero nescio utrum rhetorica, quam Gorgias exercet, sit id*. quod erit intelligendum ad hoc (id) τοῦτ' ? Huic addatur alterum exemplum in eadem pagina obvium 463 c. ἐγὼ δ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀποκρινούμαι πρότερον—, πρὶν ἂν πρῶτον ἀποκρίνωμαι ὃ τι ἐστίν. Quis usquam vidit πρὶν ἂν sic positum inter πρότερον et πρῶτον? Meo igitur periculo redde hoc πρῶτον scribis, qui id audacius hic apposuerunt, quum vulgo tantum πρότερον in πρῶτον mutarint, ex gr. Arist. Vesp. 55, et Acharn. 383,

νῦν οὖν με πρῶτον, πρὶν λέγειν, εἰσάγετε·

atque hac occasione etiam vide scribarum constructionem in his ibid. 371,

τούς τε γὰρ τρόπους
τούς τῶν ἀγροίκων οἶδα χαίροντας σφόδρα,
εἴαν τις αὐτοὺς εὐλογῇ καὶ τὴν πόλιν κτεί,

legendum enim οἶδα, χαίροντων σφόδρα. scil. τῶν ἀγροίκων: Scribæ enim arbitrati hoc participium ad τοὺς τρόπους referendum esse sic mutarunt: quasi vero dici posset οἱ τρόποι χαίρουσι. Sed redeamus ad Platonis Cratylum, hoc tamen prius loco expedito, Gorg. 475 D. Σ. Δέξαι' ἂν οὖν σὺ μᾶλλον τὸ κάκιον καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἦττον; Nimirum bonæ scriptionis vestigia supersunt in codicibus, qui habent τὸ ante μᾶλλον et positivum αἰσχρόν: accedit quod μᾶλλον et ἀντὶ simul in talibus stare non possunt, quod vero nesciebant scribæ. Quare referimus μᾶλλον ad sequentia adjectiva et legimus, rejecto utroque τὸ sic: Σ. Δέξαι' ἂν οὖν σὺ τὸ μᾶλλον κακὸν καὶ αἰσχρόν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἦττον; scil. κακὸν καὶ αἰσχρόν: ita ut μᾶλλον et ἦττον sibi opponantur et ἀντὶ solum sic interpositum ad verbum pertineat.

Crat. 388 D. Σ. Εἰεν. τῷ δὲ τίνος ἔργῳ ὁ διδασκαλικὸς χρήσεται, ὅταν τῷ ὀνόματι χρήται;

Post δὲ exiit δῆ, post διδασκαλικὸς autem καλῶς. Facilius est ostendere hoc καλῶς abesse non posse, quum in proxime præcedentibus, per quæ auctor ad hanc quæstionem progreditur, quater recurat, et vix sibi similia inveniri possint quam—καλῶς et

καλῶς. Ad δὴ autem defendendum necesse est ut ejusdem rationis alii loci comparentur. Videas igitur 404 B. 'Ε. Εἰεν. τί δὲ δὴ Δῆμητραν κτέ. Protag. 311 C. Εἰεν.—παρὰ δὲ δὴ Πρωταγόραν νῦν ἀφικόμενοι κτέ. 312 E. Εἰεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ σοφιστὴς περὶ τίνος δεινὸν ποιῆ λέγειν; Et sic semper illud δὴ adhibet auctor in quæstione, quam quasi præparat alias quæstiones ejusdem generis præmittendo et ad quam tandem pervenit, quemadmodum videre licet vel in eadem hac Cratyli pagina in (387 E) verbis ὁ ἔδει δὴ ὀνομάζειν post illa ὁ ἔδει τίμνειν—ὁ ἔδει κερκίζειν—ὁ ἔδει τρυπᾶν. et in (388 B) verbis ἔχεις δὴ καὶ περὶ ὀνόματος post illud περὶ τρυπάνου, etc. Atque in loco, de quo agimus, sic etiam præmissis his τῷ τίνος—ἔργῳ ὁ ὑφ' αὐτῆς καλῶς χρήσεται et τῷ τίνος—ἔργῳ ὁ τρυπητῆς καλῶς χρήσεται, subjungit τῷ δὲ δὴ τίνος ἔργῳ ὁ διδασκαλικὸς καλῶς χρήσεται. Conf. Gorg. 457 B. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον τούτου ἔνεκα δεῖ—ἀλλὰ δικαίως καὶ τῇ ῥητορικῇ χρῆσθαι ὥσπερ καὶ τῇ ἀγωνίᾳ ἰμο τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀγωνίᾳ uti in 456 C, ubi ἄλλῃ neque abesse posset.

Crat. 399 D. ψυχὴν—που καὶ σῶμά τι καλοῦμεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; Σ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Ε. Πειρώμεθα δὴ καὶ ταῦτα διελεῖν, ὥσπερ τᾶμπροσθεν.

Bekkerus cum nonnullis codicibus omisit τι: male, vide Gorg. 463 E. σῶμά που καλεῖς τι καὶ ψυχὴν; Γ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Sed magis sensum impedit illud διελεῖν: nam nullo modo τᾶμπροσθεν διεῖλον: tum utitur (424 D) διελωμέθα, (425 A) διελομένους, (424 C et 425 B) διελέσθαι. Quid multa? requiritur verbum διελθεῖν i. e. persequi, quod vide hoc sensu 401 E. τό γε τοῦ Κρόνου ὄνομα ἤδη διήλθομεν. 406 D. τὸ δὲ παιδικὸν οὐδὲν καλῶς διελθεῖν. 408 D. περὶ δὲ τῶν τοιῶνδε τί σε καλῶς διελθεῖν; 413 D. ἀνδρείαν οὕτω διήλθομεν. 415 B. ὁ οὕτω διήλθομεν. Hæc in tironum incredulorumque gratiam adscripsi, qui ne anxie ferant reductionem litteræ θ ante ε, inspiciant alios locos hoc solo remedio sanandos, quamvis dissimiles sint litteræ, ex. gr. Phædr. 239 A. ἀνάγκη γιγνομένων τε καὶ φύσει ἐνότων τῶν μὲν ἦδεσθαι, τὰ δὲ παρασκευάζειν, ἰμο κήδεσθαι. Arist. Vespr. 1168.

Φ. κακοδαίμων ἐγώ,

ὅστις ἐπὶ γῆρα χίμετλον οὐδὲν λήψομαι.

in uno codice legitur γῆρω: unde factum γῆρως demum Græcum erit, uti demonstravimus laudantes v. 1199 et Eqq. 523.

Crat. 439 A. Σ. Εἰ οὖν ἔστι μὲν ὅτι μάλιστα δι' ὀνομάτων τὰ πράγματα μανθάνειν, ἔστι δὲ καὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν, ποτέρα ἂν εἴη καλλίων καὶ σαφεστέρα ἢ μάθῃς, ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνης μανθάνειν αὐτὴν τε αὐτὴν, εἰ καλῶς εἰκασται, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἥς ἦν ἡ εἰκὼν, ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτὴν τε αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτῆς, εἰ περὶ πόντως εἰργασται;

Primum dele ἥ non ferendum ante μάθησις, coll. Gorg. 454 E. al. Deinde, quis Græcorum, nedum Atticorum, scripsit ἐγὼ τε ἐγώ, βούλομαι τε βούλομαι, αὐτός τε αὐτός? Quasi igitur ἐπ' αὐτοφάργω scribas deprehendimus elisiones explere solitos. Nam quo argumento editores utuntur defendentes αὐτήν τε αὐτήν, id prorsus nihili est, cum ἴpsam per se Græce sit αὐτήν καθ' αὐτήν, vel αὐτήν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς. Scriptum fuit simplicissime, ubi nunc legitur et illud et hoc αὐτήν τε αὐτήν, bis αὐτήν ταύτην ἴpsam hanc i. e. per emphasin absque ullo dubio, quæ res proximo nomine significatur ἴpsam imaginem — ἴpsam veritatem. Phdo. 102 B. ἐπεὶ—ὁμολόγητο εἶναι τι ἕκαστον τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ τούτων τὰλλα μεταλαμβάνοντα αὐτῶν τούτων τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἴσχειν, τὸ δὴ μετὰ ταύτ' ἡρώτα. Vides genitivum τοῦ αὐτοῦ οὗτος, quavis fere pagina apud Platonem recurrentis. Quod modo dicebam, in his quasi videri a nobis scribas explentes elisiones, nondum recenseri possunt menda, quæ huic eorum insanix ac temeritati debentur omnesque ad unum codices occuparunt. Huic eorum temeritati debetur lectio quoque unius codicis in quo αὐτήν γέ(!) αὐτήν: nam in antiquissimis codicibus scriptas fuisse elisiones et crases ipsosque scribas eas cognovisse ex innumeris lectionibus conficitur, qualis est ex. gr. Crat. 415 c optimi codicis δ δ' ἥ, dum bona δ δὴ omni elisione caret. Gorg. 450 c. ἀλλ' ἀπὸ pro ἀλλὰ τό: Ibid. 455 B. ἀλλ' ὅτι pro ἄλλο τι: 459 c. δι' αὐτὸ pro διὰ τό: Phdr. 269 c. ἐφ' ὧν pro bona σφῶν, etc. Si quid enim aliud probabile est, hoc est, ita scribentes contra omnem sensum δ', ἀλλ', δι', ἐφ', ἑ', etc., talia aliis etiam locis in suis codicibus invenisse. Quæ cum negari non possint, facile est ad conjiciendum, quomodo ex κῆρα alii scripserint καὶ τὰ alii κατά, ex ἄν (Cratyl. 386 D), δ ἄν, δ ἑάν, ἑάν, et sic porro. Atque hic igitur est fons corruptionum, quæ in omnibus codicibus alte inhærent et permultis locis in nostris editionibus adhuc latent. Itaque scribæ partim non videntes elisionem vel crasin, in quibus revera erant, partim arbitantes esse elisionem vel crasin, in quibus non erant, innumeris locis aliud quoddam vocabulum, a bono sensu abhorrens, temere atque imperite ex litteris confecerunt. Illi eorum errorī debentur qualia ταῦτα, ubi scriptum fuit ΤΑΥΤΑ i. e. ταῦτά ex. gr. Crat. 394 A. Gorg. 449 c: δὴ ubi ΔΕΙ i. e. δ' εἰ Gorg. 453 E: κἀκεῖνα, ubi ΗΚΕΙΝΑ i. e. ἡ 'κεῖνα Gorg. 480 E: πολλά, ubi ΤΑΛΛΑ i. e. τὰλλα Crat. 393 c: οὐ γάρ, ubi ΟΥΤΑΡ i. e. οὗτ' ἄρ' Theæt. 189 B. Heusd.: ἄλλων, ubi ΑΛΛΩΝ i. e. ἀλλ' ὧν multis locis Heind.: ὀργίσαιτο αὐ, ubi ΟΡΓΙΣΑΙΤΑΥ i. e. ὀργίσαι τ' αὐ Phdr. 267 c:

ταῦτα γάρ, ubi ΤΑΥΤΑΡ i.e. ταῦτ' ἄρ' Xen. Symp. IV. 55: μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ, ubi -ΝΑΛΛΟΥΧ i.e. -ν ἀλλ' οὐχ Xen. Hell. III. 6, 15: ταύτην, ubi ΕΤΑΥΤΗΝ i.e. ἑτ' αὐτήν Arist. Lys. 598: κᾶπειθ' ἦκονθ', ubi ΚΑΙΤΕΙCΕΛΘΟΝΘ i.e. κᾶτ' εἰσελθόνθ' Arist. Vesp. 606. Huic eorum errori, quo incidisse sibi visi in elisionem vel crasin, ubi nullæ erant, de suo litteras in textu interposuerunt, hujusmodi debentur corruptiones, ut εἰκός γε ἄρα ἐκείνον, ubi fuit ΓΑΡ i.e. γάρ, sed quod arbitrati esse γ' ἄρ' sic plene scripserunt Theæt. 171 c, quemadmodum δὲ ex δ', ἐπὶ ex ἐφ', πότε ex πόθ', al. et τὸ αὐτὸν ex ταύτόν, τὰ ἀλλὰ ex τὰλλα al. facere solebant temere conantes explere et disjungere omnia, etiam ea, quæ salvo sensu expleri vel disjungi non possunt, quo pertinere mihi videtur hoc quoque eorum audaciæ et impudentiæ monumentum ὑπὸ ποδῶν temere factum ex ὑποδῶν Prot. 321 A, (C. Badham ad Phædrum). Atque huc etiam pertinet illud (Crat. 439 A) τε αὐτήν effictum ex una voce ΤΑΥΤΗΝ i.e. neque τ' αὐτήν neque γ' αὐτήν, sed ταύτην.

R. B. HIRSCHIG.

LUGDUNI BAT.

m. Febr. 1854.

V. *On a late use of the particles hinc, inde, &c.*

It would perhaps be hard to name an age, which offers to the philologer a richer harvest of new results than the last centuries of the Western Roman Empire.

Neglected as the latinity of St Augustine (for example) has been, his pages teem with words and constructions which have since been naturalized in the languages of Europe, and have enabled them to express many subtle distinctions of thought, which we are apt to look upon rather as a legacy of the scholastic logic.

Hereafter these assertions may be supported by a larger induction; at present I confine myself to a single class of particles, the peculiar use of which seems to have escaped the notice as well of writers on the particles, as of lexicographers*, and

* The general lexicons, Faber, Martinus, Vossius, Gesner, Facciolati, Scheller, (the best for the fathers, and especially for St Augustine), Freund; Du Cange (who can spare no room for grammatical niceties); the more special

works of Laurenbergius, Noltenius, Funccius, Hand;—all these, and others which I have consulted, have omitted this usage, as they have many others. Nor do the indexes to the fathers and poets give any help.

indeed, so far as I have observed, of all critics, with the single exception of Rittershusius, in his notes on Salvianus. The peculiarity is this: *hinc, inde, &c.*, besides their primary and proper signification *hence, hereupon, &c.*, are used with verbs of saying, thinking, and the like, to denote *of, concerning, this &c.* The following examples are supplied by St Augustine and Salvianus (who has but four in all): other authors doubtless will furnish more; but, without venturing to be very confident on such a point, I may state my opinion (not formed without some inquiry), that few or none will be found in Apuleius, Arnobius, Capella, Cyprian, Macrobius, Minucius Felix, Prudentius, Sidonius, Sulpicius Severus, Tertullian, or the Vulgate: of St Ambrose and St Jérôme I am less competent to speak.

ALIUNDE. Nemo aliunde cogitet. *Tract. in Jo.* XII. § 1. Cogitas aliunde, intentio tua alibi est. *Ibid.* XXIII. § 11.

HINC. Silebimus hinc? *Tract. in Jo.* I. § 1. Hinc audit jam multa charitas vestra. *Ibid.* XIV. § 2. Hinc diutius disputandum non est. *Ibid.* XV. § 2. Nihil hinc in aliquam partem disputo. *De Serm. Dom. in Monte.* I. § 50. Videndum est, utrum sancta Scriptura libri hujus, ab ejus exordio pertractata, hinc nos dubitare permittat. *De Gen. ad litt.* X. § 3. Si a me quærat unde acceperit animam Jesus Christus, mallet quidem hinc audire meliores atque doctiores. *Ibid.* § 33. Multa hinc dicerem. *De Consens. Evang.* I. § 52 init. Nihil enim hinc erat lege præceptum. Salvian. *De Gubern. Dei.* VI. p. 135, Baluz. Paris. 1669. Sed hinc jam et superius satis dictum est, et adhuc fortasse dicetur. *Ibid.* VII. p. 163 seq.

ILLINC. Quod ait Apostolus, *Littera occidit, Spiritus autem vivificat*, non de figuratis locutionibus dictum, quamvis et illinc congruenter accipiat. *De Spirit. et Litt.* § 7.

INDE. Transeunter commemorata est [gratia]; non, quasi inde ageretur, operosa ratiocinatione defensa. *Retract.* I. 9. § 2 fin. Inde enim disputabatur, non de bonis actionibus atque peccatis. *Ibid.* 13, § 8. Non quod ego inde dubitarem. *Ibid.* 15. § 7 fin. Ut dubitari inde non debeat. *De Gen. ad litt.* II. § 21. In rebus obscuris, atque a nostris oculis remotissimis, siqua inde scripta etiam divina legerimus. *Ibid.* I. § 37. Inde jam satis dictum est. *De Serm. Dom. in Monte.* I. § 76 fin. (cf. ib. 32 fin.) Inde ...loquentibus. *De Consens. Evang.* III. § 75, vers. fin.

UNDE qui dubitat. *De Libero Arbitrio*. III. § 2. Unde omnino cogitaretis, non inveniretis. *Tract. in Jo.* I. § 7. init. Unde hes-terno die multum locuti sumus. *Ibid.* II. § 2. Narrantes ei unde sermocinarentur. *Ibid.* XXV. § 3. Cf. *Ibid.* IV. 9. Prius itaque videamus, quid sit in verborum istorum contextione unde non dubitet, atque ita cum remanserit unde dubitet, fortassis ex his de quibus non dubitat, quomodo etiam illud dubitet apparebit. *De Gen. ad litt.* XII. § 7 fin. Unde adhuc dubitem. *Ibid.* X. § 45 fin. Unde jam superiore loco disseruerimus. *Ibid.* VI. § 21. Unde suo loco loquendum est. *Ibid.* VIII. § 35. Unde jam disseruerimus. *Ibid.* IX. § 24. Unde non consulebantur. *De Consens. Evang.* I. § 27. Unde superius locutus sum. *Ibid.* II. § 132. Hoc autem unde nunc loquimur. Salvian. *De Avaritia*. II. p. 262. De iis unde nunc loquimur. *Ibid.* III. p. 268*.

UNDECUNQUE. Non itaque oportet eum de veritate dubitare, qui potuit undecunque dubitare. *De Vera Relig.* § 73. Nihil est autem tam familiare peccantibus, quam tribuere Deo velle undecunque accusantur. *De Gen. c. Man.* II. § 25.

J. E. B. MAYOR.

VI. On a passage of Cicero.

In Cic. *p. Sest.* § 71 (respirasse homines videbantur nondum re, sed spe reipublicæ recuperandæ), Madvig, justly remarking that "*re et spe* ita inter se referuntur constanti usu, ut conjunctio *spe reip. rec.* (unam constituens notionem oppositam vocab. *re*) ferri nequeat," adopts Lambinus's conjecture: *sed spe republica recuperata*. May not the genitive† follow *re* (the substance, the assured possession) as well as *spe*? So August. *De Doctr. Christ.* I. § 20. Cujus [*vitæ beatæ*] nondum res, tamen spes ejus nos hoc tempore consolatur.

J. E. B. MAYOR.

* A later example has been pointed out to me. 'Et tunc jubenti Priore surgat et unde interrogatus fuerit rationem humiliter reddat.' Capitulare Aquisgranense. (anno 817). cap. 13. Baluz.

Cap. Reg. Franc. i. 581.

† Or rather, *reip. recuperatæ* understood, by a slight *zeugma*, from *recuperandæ*.

VII. *On the Fragment of a Hymn to Æsculapius preserved in the Fourth Book of St Hippolytus.*

AMONG the divers magical tricks exposed in the newly-found treatise against All Heresies we read the whole process and ceremonial of raising heroes and gods. The hymn by which Hecate was summoned is tolerably perfect, and has been, with other poetical fragments, given in an English dress in the Quarterly Review. The Hymn to Æsculapius was passed over, yet though very corrupt it has apparently been far more beautiful. I have attempted to amend and interpret it. In M. Miller's edition, where it has received certain obvious literal corrections, it stands thus—p. 68 :

Σκότος δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ ποιήσας (ὁ μάγος), ἐπεισάγειν φάσκει θεοὺς ἢ δαίμονας
καὶ εἰπεῖν ἀπαίτης Ἀσκληπιὸν δεικνύναι, ἐπικαλεῖται οὕτως λέγων·

5 Ζῆνα πάλαι φθίμενον πάλιν ἄμβροτον Ἀπόλλωνος
 κικλήσκω Θήβαιοι μολεῖν ἐπίκουρον ἐμαῖσιν·
 ὅς ποτε καὶ νεκῶν ἄμενηνῶν μυρία φύλα,
 Ταρτάρου εὐρώεντος ἀεικαυστοῖσι μελάβροισ
 δύσσοστον ἀπλόεντα ῥόον, κελαδὸν τε δίαυλον
10 πᾶσιν ἴσον τέλειαντ' ἄνδρεςσι [κατα]θνήτοισι,
 λίμνῃ πὰρ γοόωντα καὶ ἄλυστα κωκύνοντα
 αὐτὸς ἀμειδίτοιον ἐρύσσαο Φερσεφονείης·
 εἴτ' ἐφέπεις Θρήκης ἱερῆς ἔδος, εἴτ' ἐρατεινὴν
 Πέργαμον, εἴτ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν Ἰαονίαν Ἐπίδαυρον,
15 δεῦρο, μάκαρ, καλέει σε μάγων ὦδε

Ἐπὰν δὲ χλευάζων λήξῃ, φαίνεται κατὰ τοῦ ἐδάφους πυρώδης Ἀσκληπιός.

In the three lines of Hippolytus' prose which precede the fragment, εἰπεῖν ἀπαίτης is of course corrupt; M. Miller proposes either εἰπεῖν ἀπαίτησιν which I cannot interpret, or εἴ τις ἀπαιτῇ. Perhaps ἐπὰν ἀπαιτῆς would be at once better grammar, and nearer to the MS.

In v. 5 M. Miller rightly reads *vla* for Ζῆνα.

In v. 7. Θήβαιοι is due to M. Miller, the MS. having κικλησκοιο
βαισιμολεῖν. It does not seem very appropriate. Rather we should expect the Healer to be invoked as ἐπίκουρος in some trouble or hurt. It will be seen that to the uncial ΚΙΚΛΗΣΚΩ ΛΩΒΑΙΣΙ, the words ΚΙΚΛΗΣΚΩ ΛΩΒΑΙΣΙ, i. e. κικλήσκω λώβαισι, approach very nearly.

A friend has suggested *φδαῖσι*, in its later sense of *charms*, which is certainly most appropriate in this place.

The transfer of the comma from the end of this line to the end of the next will at once people the halls of Tartarus with ghosts, and save them from an inundation of Styx.

In v. 9 for *ἀπλόεντα* and *κελαδόν τε* I would read *ἄπλοόν τε* and *κελάδοντα*, the latter with M. Miller; the former meaning "impassable by vessels" (as Dem. de Coron. 307. 18), as *δύσνοστον* is "difficult to ford." M. Miller's conjecture *διελώντα* for *ἀπλόεντα* is incomprehensible.

In v. 10 read *τελέσας*.

In v. 14 *ἐπὶ τοῖσιν* is unendurable. Considering the character of Epidaurus (*περικλείεται* ὅρεσιν ὑψηλοῖς μέχρι πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, ὥστ' ἐρυμνὴ κατεσκεύασται φυσικῶς πανταχόθεν*. Strab. 8. 15.—*ἐνὶ κραναῇ Ἐπιδάυρῳ*. Orac. ap. Paus. 2. 26), and particularly considering how the *ὅρος Τιθείον* was venerated as the scene of the nativity of Æsculapius, I was at first inclined to read *ἐπ' ἄκροισιν* (not *ἄκραισιν*, because the *ἄκρα* of Epidaurus was dedicated to Hera): but a different word appears to me better adapted to the passage.

Antoninus Pius constructed at Epidaurus a temple to the gods *οὗς Ἐπιδώτας ὀνομάζουσιν* (Pausan. 2. 27), "givers of good gifts,"—*ἐπιδιδόναι γὰρ ἀγαθὰ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις*, Pausanias gives as the meaning of the title *ἐπιδότης* under which Zeus was worshipped at Sicyon. We again meet with the title *Epidotes* in Pausan. 2. 10, applied to a statue of Somnus (*Ὑπνος κατακοιμίζων λέοντα, ἐπιδότης δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν*) at Sicyon, but still in a temple of Æsculapius.

Now who the *epidotæ* gods of Epidaurus were, we do not for certain know: Zeus, as at Sicyon, and the *Νύμφαι κουρότροφοι* were probably among them; but it is not likely that Æsculapius in a domain so wholly his own as Epidaurus should not be reckoned among the gods who there received a title, which was so peculiarly appropriate to his office among men, and connected, as we have seen, with his worship elsewhere.

I cannot help thinking then, that the word which was here misunderstood and corrupted by the scribe was *ἐπιδῶτα* in the vocative case.

* Very curiously Siebelis in Pausan. 2. 27 construes *τὸ ἱερὸν ἄλσος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ περιέχουσιν ὅροι πανταχόθεν* by "*Æsculapii lucum circumquaque montes incingunt*." It is however (in its true

sense) illustrated by what we read of the *ὄριστα* defining the *limits* of a sacred mountain, in Hyperid. pro Euxenippo, col. 28, (p. 8, Schneide-
win.)

v. 14. The next word 'Ιαονίαν, as applied to Epidaurus, happily illustrates and is illustrated by a passage of Strabo, who says, on the authority of Aristotle (8. 15), speaking of Epidaurus, Τῶν 'Ηρακλειδῶν κατελθόντων Ἴωνας αὐτοῖς συνοικῆσαι*.

In v. 15 of course we must punctuate δεῦρο, μάκαρ and supply perhaps ὄδε... ὁμιλος. Many suitable *epithets* will occur to the reader.

The passage will now assume at least an intelligible form. I have ventured to subjoin a translation.

Υἱα, πάλαι φθίμενον, πάλιν ἄμβροτον Ἀπόλλωνος
 κυκλήσκω λῶβαισι μολεῖν ἐπίκουρον ἐμαῖσιν
 ὅς ποτε καὶ νεκύων ἄμενηνῶν μυρία φύλα
 Ταρτάρου εὐρώεντος ἀεικαυστοῖσι μελάβροισι,
 δύσνοστον ἄπλοόν τε ῥόον, κελάδοντα διαύλον,
 πᾶσιν ἴσον τελείσας ἄνδρεσσι καταθνήτοισι,
 λίμνη πὰρ γούωντα καὶ ἄλλυτα κωκύοντα
 αὐτὸς ἀμειδίτοιο ἐρύσσαο Φερσεφονείης·
 εἴτ' ἐφέπεις Θρήκης ἱερῆς ἔδος, εἴτ' ἐρατεινὴν
 Πέργαμον, εἴτ', ἐπιδῶτα, Ἰαονίαν Ἐπίδαυρον,
 δεῦρο, μάκαρ· καλέει σε μάγων ὄδε... ὁμιλος.

O slain erewhile, O lifted up again to live for ever,
 Child of the Sun, to thee I call, thy suffering one deliver:
 Thou who of yore to all mankind didst open set and free
 The frith that without ferry or ford sweeps to the seething sea;
 Didst loose the myriad tribes of dead, the feeble folk that dwell
 Amid the crumbling palaces and black-burnt halls of hell;
 Didst still the hopeless prisoners' cries, and the wailings on the
 shore,
 And bring them home where they shall see the stony Queen no
 more;
 An if thou sit in sacred Thrace, on Pergamus' bright steep,
 Or hard by Epidaurus and the old Ionian keep

* [Pausanias (VII. 4) gives a somewhat different account: ἡγεμὼν δὲ ἦν τοῖς Ἴωσι Προκλῆς ὁ Πιτυρέως, αὐτὸς τε Ἐπιδαύριος καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίου τὸ πολὺ ἄγων, οἱ ἀπὸ Δημόδοκου κ.τ.λ. Τούτῳ τῷ Προκλεῖ γένος ἦν ἀπὸ Ἴωνος τοῦ Ξούθου: and again (II. 26), he states that the

last king of Epidaurus before the Dorian migration was Pityreus, Ἴωνος ἀπόγονον τοῦ Ξούθου. See Müller's *Dorians*, I. 91 (Eng. Tr.); Thirlwall's *Greece*, I. 118; and C. Müller in *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* II. 137.]

Hold council with the bounteous gods, a god of bounty free,
Come, blessed one ; thy magian choirs lift up their voice to thee.

E. W. BENSON.

P. S. Perhaps it may not be improper to remark, that the author of the spirited and scholarlike versions in the Quarterly Review seems to have misunderstood a line in the fragment of Pindar,

Κορύβαντες

οὓς τότε πρώτους ἶδε δενδροφυεῖς ἀμβλαστάνοντας Ἄλιος,

"Spring up *like* trees in beauty and in pride."

It alludes to the well-known myth of the production of men *from* trees.

Again in the hymn to Atys, the god is called

ἡ θεόγοντον ἄκαρπον,

ἡ χλοερὸν στάχυν ἀμηθέντα,

which means "either *born* unfruitful or *made so*," according to the story : for the sense of ἀμηθέντα cf. ἀπάμησον πόδα, Philoct. 749, and Od. 21. 300, and more definitely Columella's use of the word *meto*, 9. 15 ; for χλοερὸν cf. Eum. 187, παίδων κακοῦται χλοῦνις. The meaning seems to have been really missed by the Reviewer, who translates

Unfruitful now *on barren desert brown*,

Now the rich *golden* harvest mowing down.

Rather,

Born of a god, but barren-born,

Or of thy scarce-ripe harvest shorn.

E. W. B.

*Anecdota.**Marginalia on Eusebius and Photius, by Bishop Pearson.*

(Continued from p. 102.)

The remainder of Pearson's notes on Eusebius together with those on Photius are now given. It will be noticed that the Bishop's pen has been unusually busy in both treatises against Marcellus, their doctrinal character having obviously attracted his special attention. Indeed the real amount of notes is here but imperfectly represented; for in this Number I have omitted whatever seemed to have lost all interest either personal or philological. Some persons, as it is, would probably desire a still more sweeping exclusion: but much that now appears trivial to an ordinary reader, who does not consult the original texts, may have its value for future editors; and moreover I have preferred to err on the safe side. A good deal of the writing in the margin of Photius has reference to scarcely credible blunders in Schott's translation: this is almost entirely omitted, as no one in his senses could now for a moment follow that "pessimus interpres" (*Vind. Ign.* i. 10). It should be mentioned once for all, that the notes were evidently made at different times: but I have found it impossible to fix their relative dates with any certainty, except where some early remark has subsequently received alterations or additions.

In endeavouring to trace the history of these volumes (see p. 98), I strangely overlooked the following note in that containing Justin Martyr &c.: "Bought out of Mr Allens Library who was Chaplain to Bp. Pearson and had his choice of the MS. books when he died, one of which this was and all the notes in the margin of it are Bp. Pearsons."

F. J. A. HORT.

*Eusebius Contra Marcellum Ancyranum.**Ed. Paris.* 1628.*Pearsoni annotationes.*18 C. *τυχόντας**ἐν[τυχόντας]*

19 A. *ἐκκλησίας, πρεσβείῳ δὲ διαπρεπῶς
τῆς Τυρίων ἐπισκοπεύσαντα—
αὐτῷ*

rectius Valesius ad Eus. p. 190 [H. E.
X. 1. *qui legit* ἐκκ. πρεσβείῳ, διαπ.
δὲ τ. Τυρ. ἐπ.—αὐτοῦ: *Gaisf.* ἐκκ.
πρεσβ., διαπ. τ' ἐπ. τ. Τυρ.—αὐτοῦ
e cod. Ven.] De Dionysio Eus.
Hist. p. 254. A. [H. E. vii. 7.]

Ed. Paris. 1628.

- 19 A. τὴν Ἀντιοχέων κ.τ.λ.
 20 A. παλαιότερων
 — B. ἐπισκοπῆς—μετεπικηθήσαν
 21 C. ἐφ' ἧ
 22 A. ὦρα κ.τ.λ.
 — C. οὐ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.
 23 A. αὐτοῦς
 — B. οἱ πεπιστ. κ.τ.λ.
 — C. ὁμοίαν
 24 D. ἄλλος μὲν κ.τ.λ.
 — ῥητὰ
 — κυρίως
 — δύναται
 — ἕτερον ὁ Θεός
 — καὶ Θεὸς οὐκ εἰκὼν
 25 D. Ὁσίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου
 27 A. ἐπιλησμένος
 — B. μισαδελφίας ,
 30 A. συκοφαντεῖν
 32 A. καθηγείτο
 — C. βασιλέα κ.τ.λ.
 41 D. δ—ὀνομάζων
 51 C. Διὰ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.
 52 A. αἱ Πράξεις κ.τ.λ.
 — B. δεῖ μὲν ἀνθρώπων
 — δούλου μορφῇ
 54 D. anima expers [ψυχῆς δίκην]
 55 B. ἐνεργεῖα μόνῃ
 57 A. Flacillo
 — [post salutationem.]
 — πολὺ ἐπὶ
 — B. τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ῥημάτων
 — διχὰ πάσης ἀντιρρήσεως
 — φορᾶ
 — C. διδοὺς ὑποθέσεως,
 — [in margine] ὑποστάσεως

Pearsoni annotationes.

20. B. καὶ [παλαιότερων]
 19 A. ἰσ. ἐφη
 περὶ ἀρχῶν. l. 4. in anacephalæosi [c. 28].
 ubi? in lib. 1. Genes. ut citatur a Pam-
 philo in Apol. p. σλχλπ B. [c. 3.]
 αὐτὸς [?]
 p. 306. 6 [De princ. i. 1.]
 ἰσ. μίαν [ὁ μίαν Gaisf. e cod. Ven.]
 Epiph. 357. [Adv. hæc. lxxii. 6.]
 ῥήματα
 Κύριος [sic Gaisf. post Retib.]
 [δύναται] ἐτι
 [ὁ lin. subd. notat: om. Gaisf. cum cod.
 Ven.]
 [καὶ Θεὸς] ὅπως, οὐκετι [εἰκὼν:] [Gaisf.
 καὶ Θεὸς, οὐκετι {ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ Θεὸς}
 εἰκὼν e cod. Ven.]
 quid [?] de Hosio.
 [ἐπι]λε[λησμένος]
 1. A.
 [συκοφαν]τεῖ [συκοφαντεῖν ἐδόνατο du-
 bitanter Gaisf. e Montac. conj.]
 post proscritionem [i.e. post detrusum
 ab episcopatu anno 336 Marcellum
 hæc scripta sunt.]
 p. 6. B.
 δ—ἐτοιμάζων. v. p. 113 A.
 181. C.
 181. D.
 δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν [δεῖ μὲν οὐρανὸν Gaisf.:
 δεῖ μὲν ἀνθρώπων cod. Ven.]
 182. A.
 anima instar: quæ fuit sententia Aria-
 norum.
 refer ad pag. 54. D.
 episcopo facto A. 335.
 scripta hæc sunt. 336.
 πολυεπῆ [sic Gaisf. e Montac. conj.] hoc
 est πολύστιχον, ut de eodem loqui-
 tur Sozomenus. l. 2. c. 33. Ipse
 [sc. Eusebius] p. 2 [B.]
 2. C.
 59. D.
 60 A.
 διδοὺς, ὑποθέσεως [διδούς ὑποστάσεως
 Gaisf. e cod. Ven.]
 perperam. [Vide supra.]

Ed. Paris. 1628.

- 57 C. subsistentiam Filio Dei
— D. ἐξιόμενος

— τ. Κυρίω

Pearsoni annotationes.

Filio locum Dei
ἀξ[ιόμενος] [fortasse vult ἀξιούμενος: præstat tamen vulgata lectio.]

ω. ἐν [τ. Κυρίω]

Montacuti annotationes ad libros
contra Marcellum.

- 7 a. (p. 377. Gaisf.) ἐν τούτῳ γράψας

Pearsoni annotationes.

An hic liber inscriptus De subiectione Christi, ut ex Hilario ["in fragmento libri de Synodis," i. e. Ex Op. Hist. Fragm. ii. 21, 22. Opp. pp. 1299 A, 1300 B, ed. Bened. 1693.] docet Valesius. Annot. ad Socratem. p. 17 [i. 36]?

- 12 a. (387) Fateor me sensum loci non assequi

recte

- b. (389) ἔπει καὶ—Ἐπειδὴ [sc. Montac. conjectura]

perperam

- 15 a. (394) Loquitur Marcellus de Eusebio

quo?

Eusebius Contra Marcellum de Ecclesiastica Theologia.

Pearsoni annotationes.

- 59 D. τινὲς τ. Εκ. Θε.

an τινὰς [τ. Εκ. Θε.]

- 60 A. ὁ ἀνὴρ,

ὁ ἀνὴρ

- σύνδοκον παρ. μαρτυρίαν

an [συνδοκον παρ.] μάρτυρα [συνφδόν παρ. μαρτυρίαν Gaisf. e cod. Ven.]

- αὐτὸ τ. τ. φορᾶ, τ. τ. Σω. ἡμ. Θεολογίαν

αὐτὸ τ. τ. φορᾶ τ. τ. Σω. ἡμ. Θεολογίαν, [sic (præter φωρᾶ e cod. Ven.) Gaisf.]

- φορᾶ

57 B

- 61 D. νῦν

1. ἢ νῦν [νῦν Gaisf. e Montac. conj.]

- 63 A. καὶ τίνος—γεγεννημένος;

[uncinis curvis includit]

- 64 D. οἱ δὲ ψιλὸν

an [οἱ] μὲν [ψιλὸν]

- 68 B. ἄτε δὲ

ὡς [ἄτε δὲ]: [ὡς ἄτε Socr.: ἄτε δὲ Gaisf. e cod. Ven.]

- 70 B. μεταδοὺς, ὃ δὲ αὐτοῦ

μεταδοὺς [ὃ δὲ αὐ]τῷ

- D. γινώσκειν

[γινώσ]κει

- 75 D. πτωχοὺς τὴν δὲ δόξαν

[πτω]χοὺς τὴν δόξαν [sic Gaisf. e cod. Ven.]

- 76 A. οὐ μὴν—δικτύους

vide Valesium de Vita Eusebij [p. 5. ij. b. ed. Paris. 1659. t. i. p. XLIX. ed. Heinichen], qui putat his innui damnatum jam fuisse Marcellum. Vide p. 78 D. [Serius hoc additum est.]

- D. ἡσφάλει

ἐ[σφά]λη: [sic Gaisf. e cod. Ven. (—λει)]

Pearsoni annotationes.

- 76 D. ὁ λόγος
 78 D. ὁμοίως αὐτῷ—ἡλᾶθῃ
 79 B. ἀνθρωπείῳ
 — D. ἐπισκώπτει
 80 D. μηδὲν—λόγον
 82 D. ὅδε
 83 B. ὅδε
 85 A. αὐτῇ—ἦν
 — D. ἀκούσιον
 86 A. ἀλλὰ
 91 C. τῇ—αὐτόματον
 — D. Σαβέλλιος
 92 A. δύο ἀνθρώπων κ.τ.λ. [?]
 93 B. προστίθῃσι τὸ,
 — D. ἀσπαρτήτως
 95 A. τὴν Μωσέως
 138 A. Ἀστέριος
 139 D. ὁ δὲ καὶ
 150 D. Τοῦτων ὧδε κ.τ.λ.
 — Τοῦτων
 — ἐκτίσθαι αὐτὸν
 — ἦ τινες
 151 A. τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 — B. καὶ τὸ—Κύριον
 — ἐπὶ τοῦ
 181 A. τετρακοσίῳ
 — C. διὰ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.
 — D. αἱ Πράξεις κ.τ.λ.
 182 A. δοῦλου μορφῇ
 184 B. σημαίνει ἂν
 185 D. ἀληκτον
 186 B. τέλος τεύξεται
 — οὕτω μὲν οὐκ

- Vide 80. D.
 76. A.
 [ἀνθρώ]πῳ
 ἐπισκώπτει [ἐπισκώπτοι Gaisf. e cod. Ven.]
 81 D.
 δ δὲ [δ δὴ Gaisf. e cod. Ven.]
 ὁ δὲ [ὁ δὴ Gaisf.: δ δὴ cod. Ven.]
 [unc. curv. incl.]
 ις. ἀκούσιον [sic Gaisf. e cod. Ven.] 84. A.
 οὐδὲ [sic Gaisf. e cod. Ven.]
 τῶν—[αὐτομά]των [τῶν— —των Gaisf. e
 cod. Ven.]
 [Σαβε]λλ.ιανός
 8 D.
 προσ[τίθῃσι], τὸ
 ἀπ[αρτήτως] [ἀσυναρτήτως Gaisf. e cod.
 Ven.]
 καὶ [τὴν Μωσέως] [εἰπὼν μοx dubitanter
 addit Gaisf.]
 130. [C. D.]
 δ [δὲ καὶ]
 Socr. p. 104 [ii. 21.]
 [Τούτων] τοῦτων [post Soc.]
 [ἐκτίσθαι] εἰα[υτὸν post Socr.: sic Gaisf. e
 cod. Ven.]
 δ [τινες post Soc.]
 [τοῦ] εἰα[υτοῦ post Soc.]
 non agnoscit Socr. [item unc. quadr. incl.]
 οὐκ [ἐπὶ τοῦ] [οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ Socr.]
 p. 6. B. 32. C.
 51. C.
 52. A.
 52. O.
 [σημαίν]ειν [? σημαίνει ἂν Gaisf. e cod.
 Ven.]
 ις. ἀλεκτον [? sic Gaisf. e cod. Ven.]
 [τέ]λους [τεύξε]ται [sic tacite Gaisf.,
 nescio an recte.]
 ις. [οὕτω μὲν] οὖν: 187 C.

Montacuti annotationes in libros De
Ecclesiastica Theologia.

- 18 a. (p. 401 Gaisf.) γράψας
 — Forte—distinxisse
 — Vult—legimus

Pearsoni annotationes.

- [γράφ]ας καὶ μόνον
 perperam
 perperam

[Ad tomī finem hæc legimus.]

Inridemus fabulas gentium, et iterum easdem inducimus; non nos, sed qui ausus est Galata. [Pseudo-]Eusebius adv. Sabellium. l. i. p. 13. [ed. Sirmond. Paris. 1643.]

Marcellus per multos annos fuerat Episcopus cum hæc scriberet Eus. 33. D.
 Scripsit priores duos libros Eus. post Synodum Constantinopolitanam, A^o 336
 vel 337^o. [sic prima manu: secundis curis "nempe" pro "vel" inseruit; deinde
 addidit] sed post mortem Constantini, ut videtur.

3 posteriores A^o 338^o.

βραχεῖς pauci. 136. B. θεωρός. 32. D. προεστώς. 25. C.

Photii Bibliotheca.

Ed. Rothomagensis. 1653.

(3. 28. 20. Bibl. Acad. Cantab.)

Pearsoni annotationes.

1. 32. (p. 1 a 4, 5 Bek.), ταῦτα δὲ—ἀπο-
 λείποντα

1623. 7. [545. 15, 16. Bek.]

20. 35. (6 b 32), Τραϊανῶ

Quid hoc? an τοῦ αὐτοῦ [idem "Dod-
 wello" (Pearsonum, ut ipse fatetur,
 secuto: vide Pears. De success.
 Rom. episc. ii. 5. § 7. cum Dod-
 welli supplemento.) "ap. Spanhem.
 ad Joseph. de Vita sua 1" (! Cf.
 Ez. Spanh. De præst. num. i. 533.
 Lond. 1706) tribuit Bekkerus. Serius
 addidit Pears.] vel τοῦ Τίτου. Male
 hoc loco uti videtur Jo. Scal[iger].
 p. 204. b. 205. a. [! Vide Scalig.
 Anim. in Eus. Chron. p. 176 a.
 Lugd. Bat. 1606. et Vales. in Eus.
 H. E. iii. 10.]

33. 52-54. (11 a 37-39), καὶ ἀνθρώπων
 —μήνας

Jos[ephus (De bel. Jud. vi. 5.)] annos 7.
 menses 5. a festo tabernaculorum ad
 obsidionem mense Martio.

36. 20. (11 b 14), Ἰωσήπου περὶ τοῦ
 παντός. κ.τ.λ.

v. Notas. [ubi Hæscheli verbis "Equidem
 homini Christiano adscripserim," de
 fragmento libri (S. Hippolyti?) περὶ
 τῆς τοῦ παντός αἰτίας quod incipit
 Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὁ περὶ δαιμόνων τόπος
 disserentis, hæc apposuit "Quidni
 Caio!"]

37. 2. (12 a 13), ἐθνῶν ἐπίσκοπον

Quid?

— 4. (— 15), κατὰ Πρόκλου

Ex Eusebio. [H. E. vi. 20.]

— 57. (— b 17), καὶ Σάμου

Nomen tertii [sc. episcopi] deest: unde
 deceptus est Blondellus sub fine
 operis de Primatu. [Paullo aliter,
 "Episcopi nomen est, non, ut Blon-
 dello visum, urbis," Fabricius. Bibl.
 Græc. ix. 391. ed. 1719.]

116. 13. (38 b 29), ἡβ' πρὸ τῆς βασι-
 λείας

Aut codex, aut hæc falsa sunt. [οβ' cete-
 ris omissis habet Bek. e cod. A.]

189. 17. (60 b 9), Λεδοντιῶν

V. p. 1036. 54. [338 a 38.] Hic est
 cujus filiam Eudociam uxorem duxit
 Imperator.

Ed. Rothomagensis. 1653.

(3. 28. 20. *Bibl. Acad. Cantab.*)

200. 60. (64 a 39, 40), Ἀντίγωνος δὲ Παμφύλων καὶ Κιλίκων μεχρὶ Φρυγίας.

204. 40. (65 b 4), καταλέγει

285. 5. (88 b 25), Θεμιστίας

289. 41. (90 a 38), δευτερονομίον

— 58. (— b 13), Τοῦτόν φασιν κ.τ.λ.

296. 11. (92 a 43), Σαβελλίου

301. 44. (94 a 34), λέγεται δὲ καὶ οὗτος [Ἰππολύτος]—Ὀριγένους κ.τ.λ.

309. 43. (96 b 12), Λουκίου Πατρῆως μεταμορφώσεως λόγιοι

— 50. (— 18), Λουκίῳ ἐκ τῶν Λουκιανοῦ λόγων

364. 36. (111 b 35), Λουκιανοῦ καὶ—Λουκίου

412. 30. (127 a 16), Εὐδοκίου—κατὰ Ναυδίου

416. 28. (128 a 23), λόγοι τρεῖς εἰς μάρτυρα τὸν Κυπριανόν.

420. 20. (129 b 10), [*De Cypriani Antiocheni, Justinæ, et Theoctisti martyrio.*]

764. 33. (241 b 30), [δλφ] ὅσω τὰ συναμφοτέρα μετ' ἀλλήλων εἰσὶ

776. 13. (245 b 36), τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντίνῳ συν., αὐτὸς ῥεῖ εἶναι

— 29. (246 a 7), τῇ ἐπιστολῇ

777. 10–12. (— b 9–11), τὰ ἀρθρα—ὑποτίθεται

— 27. (— 25), ἐν ὅσω—ἐστίν

780. 23. (247 a 42), Συγκλητικὸν

785. 56. (249 b 38), ἰδιοσυστάτως

808. 58. (257 b 28), ὡς τὰ δύο—προσαστικὰ

809. 32. (258 a 20), αἰρέσεως

812. 5. (— b 17), Ἀθανάσιος κ.τ.λ.

— 6. (— 18), Ἐρέχθιος

833. 1. (267 a 33), Ἀθανάσιον κ.τ.λ.

Pearsoni annotationes.

Quomodo igitur Philotas Κιλίκας [*sc. ἡγεῖσθαι ἀπεφάνθη;*]

[καταλέγει] δὲ

15. 9. [5 a 37.]

δευτέρου γάμου Blondellus. *ισ.* δευτερογαμίου. [*Cf. Usser. De Ign. Mart. Epp. cap. xvi.*]

ex Sophronio interprete Hieronymi [*De vir. ill. 25.*]

imo non Sabellius sed Noetus

v. Huetium. Origenianorum. p. 11. [i. 2. § 5.]

v. p. 316. [*lege* 311.]

v. p. 363. [364. 36. (111 b 35.)]

Lucianum igitur et Lucium diversos auctores esse putavit. v. p. 310. [309. 50. (96 b 18.)]

v. Cod. 280. [p. 1597. 10. (536 a 24.)]

Nomen Eudociæ non præferebant.

Fabula.

778. 24. [777. 27. (246 b 25.)]

Vulgo 165.

τῆς [ἐπιστο]λῆς [*sic Bek. e codd.*]

807 [808. 58. (257 b 28.)]

v. 764. 33. [241 b 30.]

781. 55. [248 b 5.]

788. 16. [250 a 14.]

778. [777. 10–12. (246 b 9–11.)]

[αἰρέσε]ων

814. 8. [813. 8. (259 a 38.)]

Monet Cyrus [*sc. Timothei presbyterus*]

Erechthij nomen inter Patres auditum nunquam fuisse, apud Leontium [*De Sectis*] Act. 8. [p. 534. *ed. Leunclav. Basil.* 1578.]

Agnoscit ergo [*Eulogius*] illa verba Athanasij [*μίαν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον σεσαρκωμένην*], aliter quam Leontius.

Ed. Rothomagensis. 1653.

(3. 28. 20. *Bibl. Acad. Cantab.*)

871. 19. (280 b 37), Δομετιανόν, Μελητη-
ρῆς δὲ οὗτος ἐπίσκοπος

884. 56. (285 a 33), Δοσίθεος

885. 6. (— b 2), δεκάτευχον

— 18. (— 13), Μαρκιανὸς

888. 45. (286 b 14), Honorio Romano
Imperatori [ἐπαρχοντι]

940. 53. (304 b 22), ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ [Μεθο-
δίου] περὶ αὐτεξουσίου

1028. 31. (335 a 23), ὡς ἀκοῇ γινώσκομεν

— 42. (— 33), ἐκ τρίτων

1029. 3. (— b 16), ἦν δ' ὁ Σεβήριος
Ῥωμαῖος

— 4. (—), καὶ Ῥωμαίων πατὴρ

1032. 24. (336 b 14), τρίτην ἐφασκε κ.τ.λ.

1036. 54. (— 38), οὐδὲ

— (—), Δεόντιος κ.τ.λ.

— 56. (— b 3), ζημιωθείς μὲν εὐσε-
βείας θεοφίλους

1037. 13-17. (— b 21-24), εἰποὺς δ' ἂν
πολλὰ ταῦτα.

— 40. (339 a 7), γυναικα παιδοποιὸν
ἀγεται.

1040. 3. (339 a 32), καθημένην

1045. 14. (341 b 26), ἑτέρων

— 57. (342 a 27), Σαλούστιος

1048. 4. (— 35), καλὰ—φιλανθρω-
πέματα.

— 16. (— b 8), βίβλ

Pearsoni annotationes.

Mauritij Imperatoris consanguineum.

[Theophylactus] Simocatta. 232.

[Hist. Mauric. viii. 11. *item Evagr.*

H. E. vi. 18; *Niceph.* H. E. xviii.
20.]

v. Origen. adv. Cels. l. i. [c. 57. p. 44.
ed. Spenc.]

πετάτευχον Usserius

quomodo Eulogius 7^o Marciani Episco-
pus? an legendum Μανπκιος, an
alius Eulogius, an hic Marcianus
sub Justino? [*Seriori manu super-
scripsit Pears.*] l. Μανπκιος. [*Idem
conjectit Fabricius, (ut refert Bek.)*
Bibl. Gr. ix. 482. ed. 1719.]

Imo Pontifici

Confer hæc cum ijs quæ habet Eusebius
[Præp. Ev. vii. 21, 22] ex Maximo,
et Origenes [*seu potius Adamantius
alter*] de recta fide [sect. 4. *De hoc
consensu vide Routhi Monitum in
Reliq. Sac. ii. 79-85. ed. 2.*]

ὦν [ἀκ. γιν.: *sic Bek. e cod. A.*]

1033. 16. [(337 a 25), quo referendum
esse hoc glossema monuerat Hasche-
lius.]

1040. 54. [340 a 4.]

[κ. 'P.] πατρκιος. 1065. 40. [349 b 22.]

1056. 59. [346 a 15.]

ισ. ὁ δὲ [*sic Bek. e cod. A.*]

v. p. 189. 17. [60 b 9.]

Factus opinor Christianus.

[*unc. quadr. incl. : typis minoribus excu-
denda curavit Bek.*]

An de Theosebio?

[καθ]ειμένην]

ισ. ἐταίρων. [*Sic Bek. e codd.*]

[Vide] Su[idam]. [*Plurima ex Damas-
cio a Suida excerpta indicavit Pear-
sonus, quæ post Bekkerum repetere
nolui.*]

Hæc sunt verborum excerpta. [*Item
unc. quadr. præmisit.*]

ισ. βλου

Ed. Rothomagensis. 1653.

(3. 28. 20. *Bibl. Acad. Cantab.*)

1057. 59. (346 b 36), Πέτρος

1060. 1. (— 38), βασιλεύοντες

— 6-12. (347 a 5-11), ἡ πέτρα—ἀξιοθέατον

— 20. (— 19), τὸν ἐπισκοποῦντα τὸ τηρικαῦτα τὴν κρατοῦσαν δόξαν

— 21. (— 20), Ἀθανάσιον

— 55. (— b 16), Ἐμεσίωνι

1061. 4. (— 26), ἀρρενωτον

1065. 29. (349 b 11), Συριανὸν

— 59. (350 a 5), τριῶν ὄντων κ.τ.λ.

1072. 47. (352 a 13), τὸν ἐπισκοποῦντα το τηρικαῦτα τὴν κρατοῦσαν δόξαν.

— 50. (— 16), verbis [λόγοις]

1073. 3. (— 32), τοιγαροῦν—ἀσχημονούσων.[?]

— 46. (— b 29), Μαρίνον

1076. 20. (353 a 28), συμβουλῇ

1112. 14. (365 b 22), ἐδημαγώγεις ἀρετῇ κ.τ.λ.

1268. 18. (421 b 16), Μάξιμος

1404. 14. (468 b 25), ὑπέστη

1405. 34. (469 b 13), πολιτεία—Μητροφάνους καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου.

— (—), ———

1412. 31. (471 b 21), τὰς συνοδικὰς πράξεις

Pearsoni annotationes.

Episcopus ["Alexandriæ" *serius addidit.*] v. 1072. [?] Mongus sc.

ισ. βλακεύοντες. 1064. 47. [(349 a 4.) *sic Bek. e cod. A.*]

[*unc. incl. tanquam insiticia.*]

1072. 47. [352 a 13.]

Episcopum Alexandriæ. [*sc. Athan. Celest.*]

1. Νεμεσίωνι. Su[idas, quem vide sub vv. Ἀνεπεροῦτο, Ἐρμαῖον: item Kusteri not. in v. Νεμεσίωνι.]

[ἀρρενωπ[όν]

An juniorem.

1031. [1032.] 23. [(336 b 13.)]

Episcopus fuit praevalentis sectæ, sc., Christianæ. v. 1058. [1057. 58. (346 b 35.) ὁ τῶν κρατούντων τῆς πολιτείας ἡγεμὼν τὴν δόξαν ἐπισκοπεῖν ἐλληώς.]

orationibus

De seipso, ut videtur, loquitur. [Damascius?]

v. Marinum. p. 15. [?]

ισ. συμβολῇ,

Reines. Var. lect. [lib. iii.] p. 450 [*et seqq. Altenburg. 1640.*]

An hic Maximus ad quem scribit Artemidorus [*sc. Daldianus*]?

an ἐπέστη? [*Sic Bek. e cod. B.*]

Vide hæc plenius edita a Combefisio [*post Hist. Monothelit., pp. 573-604. Paris. 1648., (referente Fabricio, Bib. Gr. ix. 498. ed. 1719.) ubi sine auctoris nomine titulum habent Acta Nicææ a synodo in causa depositionis Arii, in quibus parte aliqua narratur magni sanctique Imperatoris Constantini Vita: quo a Pearsono alibi* (Vind. Ign. ii. 10. p. 491. *ed. Churton*) *omisso ipse libellus doctissimum Tillemontium latuit* (Mem. H. Eccl. vii. 657. *ed. 1706.*)]

An hæc a Photio? [*Deinde seriori manu*] minime: sunt ex Eus[ebio]. Cf. Tillemont. l.c.]

Acta Synodi Nicææ.

- Ed. Rothomagensis. 1653.*
 (3. 28. 20. *Bibl. Acad. Cantab.*)
1416. 42. (473 a 25), Episcopus [πραι-
 πόσιτος]
1597. 12. (536 a 24), Εὐλογίου — κατὰ
 Ναυατιανῶν
1621. 3. (544 b 16), Μακεδόνιον ἐπίσκο-
 πον 'Ρώμης
- 30. (— 36), ἐστεφανωμένον
- 43. (545 a 6), τὴν νομοθεΐσαν
- (—), Κορνήλιος
- (—), —
- 44. (— 6), δλλα
- 59. (— 13), χωρὶς-ἐργάζεσθαι
1624. 5. (— 15), τριακοσιοστῷ
- 9. (— 17), διανοοῦντα
- Pearsoni annotationes.*
 Præpositus, vel Præfectus Eunuchorum,
 v. Cod. 182.
 quid hoc? v. 413 [412.] 22 [127 b 19.]
 Hucusque Epitome Martyrii.
 quid hoc? [*Deinde seriori manu*] forte
 phrasis obiter notata.
 ἔπει [K.]
 v. p. 412. [52. (127 a 33.)]
 ὡ. δλλους
 [unc. curv. incl.]
 [*Prima manu*] ὡ. διακοσιοστῷ εἰκοστῷ
 ἡ π'. Vide p. 2. 22. [1. 32. (1. 4.
 Bek.) *Deinde verbo* διακοσιοστῷ
inducto inseruit] locus corruptus.
 [*Delendum videtur* τριακοσιοστῷ καί,
ab insciis quomodo per μέρη numera-
retur temere interjectum.]
 ὡ. διανόοντα. [*Idem mavult* Bek. in
 marg.]

Correspondence.

Fragments of Hyperides existing in Hungary in the XVIth century.

The following important passage in Gesner's *Bibliotheca* seems to have been altogether overlooked by modern scholars. Kiessling at all events has not noticed it, as he most assuredly would have done, had he been aware of its existence. (See *Comment. I. de Hyperide*. p. 140. Halle. 1847.) It runs thus in the *later* editions (i. e. after 1545):

Hyperidis fragmenta quædam orationum extant apud Paulum Borne-
 mizæ Episcopum in Hungaria. (s. v. Hyperides. Ed. Zurich. 1574 and 1583).

It is most natural to suppose that these excerpts were made from the copy of Hyperides, which was preserved in the library of King Matthias Corvinus at Buda in the beginning of the 16th century. "In bibliotheca Budensi Matthiæ Corvini regis," says J. A. Brassicanus, "vidimus integrum Hyperidem cum locupletissimis scholiis, librum multis etiam censibus redimendum." (*Præf. ad Salvian.* 1530. Reprinted in Maderus *De bibl. antediluv.* p. 149.) When Buda however was taken by the Turks in 1526, those unlettered barbarians (as Brassicanus goes on to deplore) destroyed the Royal Library, and only some few relics found their way to Vienna, "in quibus," says Kiessling at p. 141 (as above), "Hyperidem frustra quæsieris."

Now I should be greatly obliged to any one who can give me such information about this Bornemiza* as may help to lead me to discover what has become of his library: for there seems to be a reasonable hope of recovering these fragments, if some little pains be taken to investigate the matter. If any one examines Kiessling's work he will see something about certain fragments of Hyperides discovered in a Palimpsest in the Vatican by Cardinal Mai, of which Kiessling could give no satisfactory account. These fragments are no other than those which are preserved by Dexippus, and which have been published by Mai and Niebuhr (see Müll. *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* Vol. III. p. 668), as the lamented Cardinal himself has lately informed me, adding, that he believed that no other fragments of this orator now exist in the library of the Vatican. They belong most evidently to one and the same oration, which ought to be entitled κατ' Ἀρτυράπου, and are of greater length than most of the other fragments of Hyperides which ancient writers have cited. Sauppe however, in his *Oratores Attici*, has entirely omitted six of them, and by a strange error has referred the seventh to the ἐνυράπιος.

CHURCHILL BABINGTON.

Notices of New Books.

An Atlas of Classical Geography, containing Twenty-four Maps: constructed by WILLIAM HUGHES, and edited by GEORGE LONG. With an Index of Places. London, Whittaker and Co. and George Bell. 1854.

[This seems to be upon the whole a more useful Atlas than any of the others that have lately been published for the use of Students at Schools. It is founded on more recent authorities than that of the Useful Knowledge Society, contains more names, and those written less obtrusively than Mr Johnston's, has a better selection of maps than Butler's, and possesses an Index, which is a requisite not found in Reichard and Forbiger's (5th ed. Norimbergæ, 1853). There is no colour used for the land, which, as commonly employed, is better away, and the maps are clear, not over crowded with names, and, as far as we have noticed, generally accurate. On the other hand, the mountains are more than usually stiff and spurless: and the omission of all political boundaries is in some maps to be regretted, notwithstanding the rather unintelligible reason for the omission given by Mr Long, that they cannot be inserted "in small maps at least with sufficient accuracy." (Are not small maps the very ones in which inaccuracies get eliminated?) There is no one map giving the Greek colonies on the northern coast of the Black Sea, (a frequent omission) and Egypt is prematurely cut off at the 28th degree of North

* His name does not occur in several works on Hungarian *literati* and *literature*, where I had hoped to have discovered it.

Latitude. As an instance of inaccuracy we may state, that no attention seems to have been paid to Mr Ellis's arguments for a road over Mont Cenis: indeed the Alps are represented (Pl. 7.) as discontinuous in that very spot, though the pass is nearly 7000 feet high. But there are other and graver faults to be noticed which this Atlas shares more or less with most other English Atlases. Modern names, the natural landmarks of our memory, are (in classical maps) either altogether omitted or irregularly inserted: in the present case, confined (except in the map of Britannia and a few mountains—and why these exceptions?) to the rivers. Why is no attempt made to introduce more physical geography (if it may be so expressed) into our General Atlases? For instance, the comparative heights of table-lands are much more important than those of the mountain-chains, and yet are always neglected. Might not different shades of colour be used to denote these, and dotted lines alone serve for political boundaries? The mountain-chains themselves are almost always carelessly shaded. To take a common instance. Mount Athos (see Pl. 14), which rises directly from the sea to the height of above 6000 feet, is not nearly so deeply shaded as the Cumberland hills (Pl. 4), though the former map is on a scale of 32, the latter of 41, miles to the inch. It would be a great addition to our Atlases if vertical sections were introduced, like those excellent ones in Grimm Mahlmann and Kiepert's Atlas of Asia. Again, why are not the usual courses of navigation marked just as much as roads on land? Why, except to confuse the eye, are the square borders, &c. of the maps retained (Pl. 10, 15), when the parallels are all at an angle with them? Why is not the proportion the scale bears to natural size, or the number of miles to the inch, stated on each map? And above all, why are not the number of scales reduced, and those retained made some easy multiples of each other? Mr Hughes himself, in his "Mathematical Geography," has admitted and blamed this huge defect, and yet in this Atlas (to omit the map of the World, the small plans of towns, and very slight differences), in 23 maps there are 15 different scales, and of these, only 2 common to 3 maps! It is only fair to Mr Johnston to say that in his Classical Atlas, of the last two defects the first is entirely, and the second partially, supplied.]

H. J. R.

Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen von FRIEDRICH DIEZ ;
Bonn, 1853, pp. 782.

[This learned and elaborate glossary (for dictionary we can hardly call it) is sure to find a very cordial welcome in the library of most philologists. It consists of two parts: the former is devoted to a scientific analysis of words that kept their place in all, or nearly all, the principal languages whose parent-stock is Latin (Italian, Provençal, French and Spanish); while the latter proceeds to examine the more difficult words now extant in some one or other of those branches of the Romanic family. The author's intimate acquaintance with the German language, both in its earlier and later form, enables him to point

out illustrations of the original affinity between it and the languages of southern Europe. This indeed may be regarded as one of the most interesting features of his work. The following specimen is extracted at random (p. 83):

"Camozza, *it.*, *sp.* camuza, gamuza, *pg.* [Portuguese] camuça camurça, *degl. masc. it.* camoscio, *fr.* chamois *gemse*; ohne zweifel gleiches ursprunges mit *mhd.* [Middle High-German] gam-z. *Sollte etwa im sp. pg. gamo damhirsch, fem. gama, das einfache wort enthalten sein? Aber freilich, entstelung desselben aus lat. dama ist als möglich anzunehmen: steht doch auch golfin neben dolfin delfin, gragea neben dragea, gazapo muthmasslich für dasapo. Übrigens ist das wort alt, z. b. in einem port. foral v. j. 1186 de corio de cervo vel de gamo S. Rosa II, p. 126."*

We cannot help thinking, however, that in this example and many others like it, the true mode of dealing with cognate words, which meet us in the vocabulary of countries historically independent, is to refer them all to some common parentage no longer traceable, instead of searching for their etymons in what are called the 'classical' languages. An illustration of our meaning is furnished by the variations under which different branches of the great Indo-European family present the name of 'goose', in strict analogy to those adduced by M. Diez in the above extract. Sanskrit *hans-a*, Greek *χῆν* (Dor. *χάν*, crude form *χῆνς*), Latin *ans-er* [cf. Germ. *gänserich* and Engl. *gander*] German *gans* (fem.), Icelandic *gás* (fem.), Danish *gaas* (fem.), Anglo-Saxon *gós* (fem.), Welsh *gwyz*, Russian *gus*, Bohemian *hus*. The aboriginal form in all probability began with a guttural *ch* or *gh*, which after being softened into *g* in some cases, and into *h* in others, disappeared entirely in the Latin language.]

C. H.

HERODOTUS, *with a Commentary*, by J. W. BLAKESLEY, B.D., late Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2 Vols. 8vo. London, 1854.

[This work forms the third volume of the Bibliotheca Classica, edited by Messrs Long and Maclean. Mr Blakesley has adopted the text of Dr Gaisford as the basis of his edition, slightly altered occasionally by including within brackets words or clauses which he supposes to have been either inserted by the historian himself from time to time in "an interleaved copy of his book," or subsequently foisted in by booksellers anxious to give to the ancient world a "latest edition, improved and enlarged," of their author. This is certainly a very compendious method of disposing of awkward or difficult passages: it must be said, however, that Mr Blakesley has been careful to give the principal MS. readings where the text is doubtful, and has generally not used the liberty, which he has allowed himself, without discretion. His commentary contains, in his own words, "not so much illustrations of the text of Herodotus, as illustrations, through his text, of the time in which he lived and the influences under which his work would necessarily be composed." Accordingly there are but scanty notices of the language throughout:

while as regards the matter, besides a selection from the stores accumulated by previous editors, we find numerous references to the latest authorities: thus Major Rawlinson on Books I. and III., Sir G. Wilkinson and Bunsen on Egypt, Ritter and Hoffmann on Geography, Professor Owen on some points of Natural History, have all been laid under contribution. Upon the whole, this edition seems to supply a gap which had been long felt, and to be the best for the use of ordinary students, at School or College, which has yet appeared in England, or probably elsewhere.

The chief features, perhaps, of interest to scholars are the Introduction and Excursus appended to the different books. In the Introduction, after a brief outline of the characteristics of such Greek Prose writers as flourished before or immediately after the Father of History, Mr Blakesley proceeds to give an animated sketch of the state of Greece in the fifth century before the Christian Era, the difficulties and perils to which travellers were exposed, the erroneous notions of geography and lax canons of historical criticism which prevailed; and finally the sources, in the shape of local traditions, and legends indigenous to particular shrines, first appearing in a simple and afterwards in a more elaborate poetical garb, with registers of the series of priests or priestesses at famous temples as standards of chronology, from which, when discordant elements had been partially harmonized and adapted to each other, and a supplement of travellers' stories added, the history was composed. Appended to the second book is a comparison of the accounts given of the Lake Mœris (Birket el Keroun) by Herodotus and Strabo, with the explanation by which they may be to some extent reconciled with each other, and with the facts of the case, as deduced from modern observation. The subject was first satisfactorily elucidated by French writers (MM. Jomard and Martin), and since their papers were written has been discussed in Ritter's *Erdkunde*, and by Bunsen; but we believe Mr Blakesley has first presented the results in an English dress. On the third book we have an examination of the theory (more than a century old, and recently advanced anew by Major Rawlinson) of the identity of Kadytis with Gaza. Against this forcible arguments are urged: but it does not seem that the hypothesis which Mr Blakesley himself appears to favour, that Kadytis is intended for Kadesh Naphtali, is much more plausible. Kadesh Naphtali appears to have been a place of very trifling consequence: it lay far inland, and how it should be spoken of as "probably of no less importance than Sardis," the capital of the Lydian monarchy, and as the centre of a dependent territory, which seems to be implied in the expression μέχρι ὅρων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος, if it were really no more than a small town in Galilee, is not at all evident. After all it seems not improbable that there may be some corruption of the text in the passage. Next after this follows a view of the results derived from the Behistun Inscription, according to Major Rawlinson's interpretation, which has thrown a wholly new light upon the revolution which placed Darius on the throne of the Persian empire, as well as the subsequent history and policy of his reign.

Subsequent Excursus, on the three last books, are devoted to the two campaigns which secured the freedom of Greece: the account of the Persian operations in 480 B.C. according to Ctesias, whom Mr Blakesley regards as probably giving the Spartan, while Herodotus gives the Athenian, version of the events which occurred: and the two great battles of Marathon and Salamis. The article upon the last is especially interesting, the picture which it exhibits of the position and manœuvres of the hostile fleets, founded chiefly upon the text of Æschylus' drama of the Persæ, being we believe entirely original, as well as intelligible and consistent, which can hardly be said of the plan of the engagement as generally understood.]

C. B. S.

RHETORES GRÆCI, ex recognitione L. Spengel, Vol. I. II. Lipsiæ. Sumtibus et typis B. G. TEUBNERI. 1853, 1854. 12mo.

[The first two volumes of a series of works, which much needed to be collected and edited afresh. The first volume contains nine treatises, or parts of treatises on rhetoric, two of which (anonymous) were lately brought to light by M. Seguier de Saint Brisson from Paris MSS., by means of which Sauppe considerably enriched his *Fragmenta Oratorum Græcorum*: they are not included in Walz's *Rhetores Græci*. We could have almost wished that the editor had excluded from this series Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (more especially as Prof. Bonitz undertakes to edit Aristotle's entire works in the same collection of Teubner), and perhaps also the *τέχνη ῥητορική* of Anaximenes, which is ordinarily printed along with Aristotle's works, under the title of *ῥητορική πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον*. The latter treatise had already been shewn to be the work of Anaximenes by Spengel in a series of papers "præclaræ eruditionis plenissimis," as Sauppe (*Fr. Oratt. Gr.* p. 321) calls them, and his views, though smartly assailed by Lersch, appear to be now generally accepted. In editing the other treatises, Spengel, besides giving manifold proof of his own ability, had made good use of the labours of recent scholars, more especially of Finckh, to whom he dedicates the work. It is unfortunate, however, that he did not obtain a collation of the Paris MS. of Minucianus, the text of which is known to be more complete than the ordinary one: this work abounds with citations from the Orators, and an enlarged copy might possibly have furnished us with some novelties. We are also sorry that Spengel has so frequently omitted to specify the Orations of Demosthenes, &c. from which the rhetoricians quote: this omission is so much the more inexcusable, because the principal value of the Rhetoricians consists in the citations and allusions to other authors, principally to the Orators, which they continually make, often without naming them. By their means a large number of fragments are preserved not otherwise known, and a valuable series of testimonies to the genuineness of ancient writings is handed down, as well as a collection of ancient various readings. But in Spengel's edition we are not uniformly referred to the source of the citations. Thus Rufus, p. 465, l. 9, to illustrate his *μερισμός*, introduces a citation, οἷον „ἐξελέγξω πρῶτον μὲν ὡς αὐτὸς ὑβρίσθην“ κ.τ.λ.

which occurs in Demosth. *c. Mid.* p. 521: in p. 468, l. 17, he similarly quotes without naming his author Demosth. *Olynth.* III. p. 35, neither of which quotations are verified by Spengel. An amusing illustration may here be adduced of the necessity of always indicating the origin of quotations made by grammatical and rhetorical writers. Among the fragments of Greek Orations whose authors are unknown, Sauppe has the following in his *Oratores Attici*, p. 346, cited in one of the above-mentioned treatises, edited by Seguier de St Brisson, "ὁς γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμόν, ὃ γῆ καὶ θεοί, κατηγορεῖ, Anonymus Seguerii, p. 49." Upon which place Sauppe observes, "*Verba videntur Demosthenis esse.*" The words, as most readers of Demosthenes will probably remember, occur in his *Oration on the Crown*, p. 323, and in this instance, it is true, Spengel, *præf.* p. xxx. l. 1, has not neglected to point out where they are to be found. We should have been glad to see the fragments even of lost works referred to their places in Sauppe's collection, which (it is only fair to add) is on the whole, in spite of a few errors and omissions, most diligently and accurately executed. It only remains for us to hope that Spengel may at the close of the last volume atone for this defect by a thoroughly good *Index Auctorum a Rhetoribus laudatorum*. In all other respects his book seems to us to deserve great praise. The second volume contains five treatises of Hermogenes, (the text of which is improved by a more careful collation of a Munich MS.), as well as single treatises of Aphthonius, Theon, and Aristides. In most of these the diligence of Finckh has found ample scope for exercising itself, and Spengel has not failed to profit thereby.]

CH. B.

Contents of Foreign Journals.

Baur u. Zeller's theolog. Jahrb. Tübingen. 1854. No. 3. The doctrine of Paul and Augustin on sin and grace, by Zeller.—Caius on Hippolytus, by Ritschl.—Caius and Hippolytus (with reference to Döllinger's *Hippolytus and Callistus*), by Baur.—On the Ep. to the Heb., by Köstlin.—A newly discovered evidence for the Gospel of John [in the lately published end of the Clementine Homilies], by Volkmar.—No. 4. On the Ep. to the Heb., by Köstlin.—The origin of the pseudo-Clementine Recognitions and Homilies, by Hilgenfeld.—On the brazen serpent, by Meier.

Denkschriften d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissensch. Philosophisch-histor. Classe. Fünfter Band. Wien. 1854. Pt. 1. Necrologium augiæ majoris Brigantinæ Ordinis S. Benedicti, by Bergmann.—On the expression of Mental Agony in the Middle Ages, by Zappert (with a plate).—Vocabulary of the Aino language, by Pfizmaier.—Inedited autonomous Greek Coins, by Prokesch-Osten (with 4 plates).—Pt. 2. Topography of Damascus, by Kremer (with 3 tables).

Gerhard's Denkmäler, 1854. Nos. 61—63. The Persian Artemis, by Gerhard (with plates).—On Plin. H. N. xxxiv. § 90, by Petersen (who reads scopas, as in Athen. ix. 391 A, for Scopas).—Hoplite victory in the Nemean games, by Th.

Panofka.—Festival of fullers and millers (Plin. xxxv. § 143), by Otto Jahn. (In the *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, No. 61. Gerhard gives a review of the year.)—No. 64. The Phrygian Sun-god, by Gerhard (with a plate).—Ascent to the Acropolis, by Curtius.—Kairos, by Otto Jahn.—Atalanta and Helena, by Osann.—Dolomedes, by Otto Jahn.—No. 65. Phrygian god on horseback, by Gerhard (with a plate).—Lead figures in the Menelaion, by L. Ross (with a plate).—Mithric horse-head, by Göttling.—Andromeda, by Otto Jahn.—Triton and Galatea, by Sam. Birch.—Group of Niobe's children, by Panofka.—Demokopos and Myrilla, by Osann.—No. 66. Merope, by Otto Jahn (with a plate).—Ageladas, by Osann.—Zeus as a dancer, by Panofka. (In the *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, No. 64, are accounts of the additions to the Vienna imperial Museum, and to the British Museum: in Nos. 65 and 66, Excavations in Southern Russia, by Leontjeff).—Discovery of a *lararium* near Reggio, by D. Cel. Cavedoni.—Greek inscriptions, 1. from Athens, by A. Von Velsen; 2. from Modena, by Cavedoni.—Notes from England, by F. v. P.

Gött. Gel. Anz. 1854. Nos. 73—76. On Burnouf's *Le Lotus de la bonne Loi traduit du Sanscrit*, by Theod. Benfey.—Nos. 78, 79. On Wuttke's *Geschichte des Heidenthums*, by H. E[wald].—Nos. 79, 80. On Ueltzen's *Constitutiones apostolicæ*, by Fr. Düsterdieck.—No. 80. On Summers's *Lecture on the Chinese language*, by K. L. Biernatzki.—Nos. 85—88. On Rapp's *Vergleichende Grammatik*, by Theod. Benfey.—Nos. 90, 91. On Uhlhorn's *Die Homilien u. Recognitionen des Clemens Romanus*, by Uhlhorn.—Nos. 94—96. On Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, by Theod. Benfey.—No. 96. On Böhringer's *Die Kirche Christi u. ihre Zeugen*, by Holzhausen.—Nos. 101—105. On Westergaard's *Bundeshesh über Pehlevicus*, by M. Haug.—Nos. 105—107. On Grimm's *Wörterbuch*, by G. W.—Nos. 107, 108. On Schade's *Sage von der h. Ursula*, by Fr. Düsterdieck.—Nos. 109—110. On Grätz's *Geschichte der Juden vom Untergang des jüdischen Staates bis zum Abschluss des Talmud*, by H. E[wald].—Nos. 110, 111. On *Die Urkunden des Stifts Walkenried*, by E. G. F.—No. 112. On Hertz's *Gellius*, Vol. 2, by Lion.—Nos. 113—118. On Romanin's *Storia documentata di Venezia*.—No. 128. On Michelsen's *Codex Thuringie diplomaticus*, by E. G. F.—Nos. 129—132. On Smith's *Dissertation on the origin and connection of the gospels*, by Ernst Ranke.—Nos. 141—144. On Lipsius's *Paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre*, by Messner.—Nos. 145, 146. On Leipsius's *Allgemeine linguistische Alphabet*, by H. E[wald].—No. 148. On Baier's *Symbolik der christlichen Confessionem*, by Fr. Düsterdieck.—Nos. 149, 150. On Pauli's *Geschichte von England*, by G. Waitz.—No. 152. On Wegele's *Thüringische Geschichtsquellen*, by G. Waitz.—Nos. 163, 164. On Riehm's *Gesetzgebung Moses im Lande Moab*, by Holzhausen.—Nos. 165, 166. On the *Codex diplomaticus Lusatie superioris*, and on Neumann's *Meissner u. Oberlausitzer Urkunden*, by G. Waitz.—Nos. 170—172. On Luthardt's *Johanneische Evangelium*, by Uhlhorn.—No. 172. On Pertsch's *Upalekha de Kramapátha libellus*, by Th. Benfey.—No. 173. Ewald's notice of his *Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*.—Nos. 175, 176. On Meyer's *Kommentar über den Römerbrief*, by Köllner.

Heidelberger Jahrb. 1854. Nos. 14, 15. On Rauchenstein's *Lysias*, by Kayser.—No. 16. On Bielowski's *Pompeius Trogus*, by C. Bähr. On Pertz and Wutke's *Cosmographia Ethici*, by Roth.—No. 26. On Göler's *Kämpfe bei Dyrrachium und Pharsalus*, by C. Bähr.—Nos. 26, 27. On Ritschel's *Plautus*, by Kayser.—No. 31. On the worship of Dolichenus, by J. Becker.—No. 45. Saalschütz's *Mosaisches Recht*, by F. Mühlhäusen. Klotz's *Handwörterbuch der latein. Sprache, &c.*, by Moser.

Illgen u. Niedner's Zeitschr. f. d. historische Theologie. Hamburg u. Gotha. 1854. No. 4. The theology of the Apostolic Fathers, &c. by J. H. B. Lübker.—The Synod of Dort and the Apocrypha, by A. Schweizer.

Jahn's Jahrb. Vol. 69. part 4. On Kock's Ed. of the *Equites*, by R. Enger.—On Overbeck's *Gallerie heroischer Bildwerke der alten Kunst*, by Petersen.—On certain Latin dictionaries, by Ladewig.—On Telfy's *Studien über die Alt- und Neugriechen*, by G. Stier.—Part 5. On Döderlein's *Homerisches Glossarium*, by H. Düntzer.—On Schneidewin's *Sophocles Antig. and Electra*, by L. Kayser.—On the *Corpus Inscr. Græc.* Vol. iii., of Boeckh, and the *Antiquités Helléniques* of Rangabé, (a general article on Greek Palæography, of considerable interest), by L. Ross.—Review of Enger on the *Parabasis in the Clouds*, by W. Teuffel. With other short notices.—Part 6. On Döderlein's *Hom. Gloss.* continued.—On Kirchhoff's *Eurip. Medea*, by A. Nauck.—On Spengel's *Rhetores Græci*, by L. Ross.—On Weissenborn's *Livy*, by H. Heerwagen. With shorter Notices.—Vol. 70, part 1. On Kirchhoff's *Eurip. Troades*, by A. Nauck.—On Muller and Steinhart's *Platon's sämtliche Werke*, by Fr. Susenmühl.—On C. W. Nauck's *Odes and Epodes of Horace*, by Kolster.—On Bielowski's *Pompeii Trogi Fragmenta*, by F. Osann.—On Classen's *Beobachtungen über den hom. Sprachgebrauch*, by Pideret. With other short notices.

Journal des Savants, April 1854. On the discovery of the circulation of the blood, Art. 2nd and last, by M. Flourens. On Langlois' translation of the Rig-Vêda, Art. 7th and last, by M. Saint-Hilaire.—*Franc. Carellii numerum Italiæ veteris tabb. cciii. ed. Cælest. Cavedonius*, Art. 2, by M. Raoul-Rochette.—May. On Burnouf's translation (from the Sanscrit) *Le Lotus de la bonne loi*, Art. 1, by M. Saint-Hilaire.—On *Fr. Carellii*, &c. Art. 3.—June. On the *Illustrazione di due degli antichi dipinti trovati negli scavi di Via Graziosa, discorso di P. Matranga*. Roma, 1852. 4to. Art. 1, by M. Raoul-Rochette.—*Histoire de l'harmonie* &c. Art. 3, by M. Vitet.—*Le Lotus* &c. Art. 2, by M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire.—*Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, Art. 2, by M. Miller.—July. *Le Lotus* &c., Art. 3. Among the books noticed is the *Dictionnaire des manuscrits*, which forms two large volumes of Migne's *Encyclopédie théologique*, and is based chiefly on the works of Haenel (Leipzig, 1830) and Montfaucon.—Aug. *Illustrazione* &c., Art. 2nd and last, by M. Raoul-Rochette.—*Le Lotus* &c., Art. 4, by M. Saint-Hilaire.—Among the books noticed is *Decouverte d'une ville gallo-romaine, dite Landunum; examen des fouilles, par M.M. Mignard et Lucien Coutant*. Didron, à Paris 8vo. pp. 83, with 13 plates.—Sept. *Inscriptiones regni Neapolitani latinæ, etc.*, Art. 1, by M. Hase.—*Le Lotus*, &c. Art. 5, by M. Saint-Hilaire.—*Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge, par M. de Coussemaker*, Art. 4, by M. Vitet.

Mém. de l'Inst. Acad. des sciences morales et politiques. Tom. VIII. 1852. On the *Sânkhya*, by M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire.—The republics of Athens and Sparta, by M. Troplong.

Mém. présentées par divers savants à l'Acad. des inscr. Prem. Série. Tom. iv. 4to. Paris, 1854. On the life and works of Hero of Alexandria, and on all the Greek Mathematical works which have been attributed to any author named Hero, by M. Th. Henri Martin. [Contains many inedited fragments].

München Gel. Anz. 1854. Nos. 31—34. The Works of Avezac, Pertz, and Wuttke on Ethicus, by F. Kunstmann.—Nos. 52—54. On Meineke's Alciphron, by Kayser.—Nos. 54—56. On Panofka's *Zur Erklärung des Plinius*, and C. F. Hermann's *Hadeskappe*, by F. Creuzer.—Nos. 56—59. On Oppert's Inscriptions des Achéménides (a continuation), by F. Spiegel.—Vol. 93. Class 1. Nos. 1—4. On Hermann's *Æschylus*, by L. Schiller.—Nos. 5—7. On Krüger's *Horace*, by L. Döderlein.—On Urlich's *Scopas im Peloponnes*, by O. Jahn.—Nos. 8, 9. On Janus' *Macrobius*, etc. and Hertz's *Gellius*, and Fleckeisen's *Letter to Hertz*, by Kayser.—Nos. 10, 11. On Parthey's *Hermetis Trismegisti Poemander*, by F. Creuzer. Class 3. Nos. 4—9. Hefner's *Das römische Bayern*, by Chr. W. Glück.

[The papers in this Journal are now arranged in different classes, according to subjects.]

Reuter's Repertorium f. d. theol. Litteratur. Berlin. 1854. May. On Luthardt's *Johannine Gospel*, by Weizsäcker.—On Strauss's *Nahum's prophecy concerning Nineveh*, by Nägelsbach.—June. On Diestel's *Blessing of Jacob*, by Nägelsbach.—On Wuttke's *History of Heathenism*, by Kämml.—On Wegele's *Dante's Life and Works*, by Kämml.—On Bp. Nicholas of Cusa, by Kämml.—July. On Saalschütz's *Form and Spirit of the biblical Hebrew poetry*, by Nägelsbach.—August. On Düsterdieck's *Three Johannine Epistles*, by Luthardt.—Sept. On Dillmann's *Book of Enoch*, by W. Neumann.—On Ebrard's *Revelation of John*, by Dietlein.—On Volkmar's *Justin Martyr, &c.*, by Wagenmann.—Oct. On Reuss's *History of the Holy Scriptures of the N. T.* by Weizsäcker.—On Beiling's *Christian guide into the Holy Land*, by W. Neumann.—On Da Costa's *Israel and the nations*, by W. Neumann.—Nov. On the 'N. T. in Greek and German,' by Düsterdieck.—On Lipsius's *Pauline doctrine of Justification*, by Düsterdieck.—On Jolswicz's *Ascension and Vision of Isaiah*, by Neumann.—On Springer's *Architecture of the Christian Middle Ages*, by Distelbarth.—On Thiersch's *Politics and Philosophy, &c.*, by Wuttke.

Revue archéologique. Paris, Leleux. March 15, 1854. On some Iberian coins, by M. Boudard.—Excavations at the great sphynx of Giseh, by M. de Sainte-Croix.—On three Armenian inscriptions at Tarsus, by M. Victor Langlois.—Apr. 15. On the Egyptian monuments of Nahr-el-Kelb, by M. J. de Berton.—'The fronts of the Parthenon, by M. E. Beulé.—On a Roman inscription found in Provence, by M. Rouard.—Notices of Robert's *Etudes numismatiques sur une partie du nord-est de la France*, and Bonnardot's *Dissertations archéologiques sur les anciennes encientes de Paris*.—May 15. On Ahmès Pensouvan (17th and 18th Egyptian dynasty).—The fronts of the Parthenon.—On a votive altar, by M. Chaudruc de Crazannes.—June 15. On the rhythm of a chorus in the Cyclops, by M. Rossignol.—A monument of the 12th century.—Gallo-Roman bas-relief at Langres.—Coin of Goric IV. king of the Armenian Albania, by M. V. Langlois.—July 15. Temple of Zeus in Ægina, by M. Charles Garnier (continued in the Sept. No.).—On the Agora at Athens and the site of the Tholus, by M. Hauriot (concluded in the Aug. No.).—On the Bellitani, by M. Boudard.—Notice of Morin's *Numismatique féodale du Dauphiné*.—Aug. 15. Gallo-Roman bas-relief at Strasbourg, by M. Chardin.—Inscription discovered near Beziers, by M. Chaudruc de Crazannes.—On the author of the *De Imitatione Christi*, by M. Guenebault.—Notices of books (Conestabile, *Sull' ipogeo della famiglia Vibia*, Rome 1853, &c.).—Sept. 15. The birds of Diomed, by M. Ernest Vinet.—Egyptian medical prescriptions, by M. E. Poitevin.—Ancient dwellings in the Swiss lakes.—Notice of Victor Langlois' *Inscriptions Grecques, Romaines, &c. de la Cilicie*.

Rheinisches Museum. Vol. IX. pt. 4. Emendationum Aristophanearum specimen II. Scr. Th. Kock.—The Edict of Augustus respecting the Aqueduct of Venafrum, by W. Henzen.—Critical remarks on Aristotle's Rhetoric, by J. Wahlen.—On the scenic representation in the *Peace* of Aristophanes, by R. Enger.—De emendatione Apollonii Dyscoli. Scr. G. Dronke.—The tyrant Phidon of Argos, by J. Mähly.—Dionysus-Palæmon, by E. Gerhard.—Onka Pallas, by Egli.—The Homeric suffix $\phi\omega$ ($\phi\iota$), by G. Dronke.—Ovid's fifteenth Epistle, by J. Mähly.—Miscellanea, by O. Jahn.—On fragments of Sallust, by K. L. Roth.—Contributions to the criticism and interpretation of Thucydides, by J. Brandis.

Rudelbach u. Guericke's Zeitschr. f. d. gesammte luth. Theol. u. Kirche. Leipzig. 1854. No. 3. $\alpha\lambda\omega\rho\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, (Matt. ii. 23), by Zuschlag.—Talmudical Studies, No. 2, by Delitzsch.—On Clem. Rom. *Ep. i. ad Cor.*, by Gundert.—No. 4. Talmudical Studies, No. 3, by Delitzsch.—Theological Studies on the Acts, by Gademann.—Introduction to the Apostolic Constitutions, by Ueltzen.

Schneider's *Deutsche Zeitschr. f. christl. Wissensch. u. Leben*. Berlin. 1854. April. On the 'Friends of God' of the 14th century, &c., by Nitzsch.—May. Newly-discovered Biblical MSS. of the highest antiquity, in Greek, Arabic, and Syriac, by Tischendorf.—June. On the Gnostic sect of the Mandæans, by Petermann.—August. On two newly-discovered exegetical works of ecclesiastical antiquity, by Jacobi.

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Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung auf d. Gebiete d. deutschen, griech. u. lat. hrsg. v. Dr. Adalbert Kuhn. Third year, pt. 6. The soft labial interchanged with a guttural in Greek, by G. Curtius.—On the *Tabula Bantina*, by Bugge.—On the old S and sounds connected with it, by Kuhn.—Review of Pott's *Personennamen*, by Förstemann.—Review of Pfeiffer's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der mitteldeutschen Sprache und Litteratur*, by Kuhn.—The dawn and the Fates, by Kuhn. Fourth year, pt. 1. On the old S, &c. by Kuhn.—Ἀμαρτάνω ἀμαρτῇ, λόμπος, ἐγχεσίμωπος, μορόεις, by Benary.—On interpolations before the case-endings in the indo-germanic languages, by Schleicher.—On Ritschl's latest academic programs, by Schweitzer.—On Kirchhoff's *Gothische Runenalphabet*, by Kuhn.—Pfad, πάτος πόντος, pons, pontifex, by Kuhn.—Sitis, by Kuhn.

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ERRATA.

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- 2 11 from foot, 'as their', read, *and their*.
- 49 4 A passage of St. John (iii. 34) is erroneously cited instead of the parallel one of St. Paul, "it pleased the Father that in him all fulness should dwell," i. e. the fulness of the Godhead bodily: (Coloss. i. 19. coll. ii. 9.) He had just spoken of Christ as *the image of God, born before the whole creation* with manifest allusion to Philo. Compare the passages cited at p. 49.
- 95 7 from foot, 'Apol. II.' read, Apol. 2.
- 103 'Cic. De Fato.' See p. 292.
- 386 The simplest correction in the passage of Minucius would be the transposition of *quia* and *qui*.
- 412 29 'had', read, *has*.
- 413 16 from foot. 'Caius on Hippolytus,' read, *C. or Hippolytus?*









